

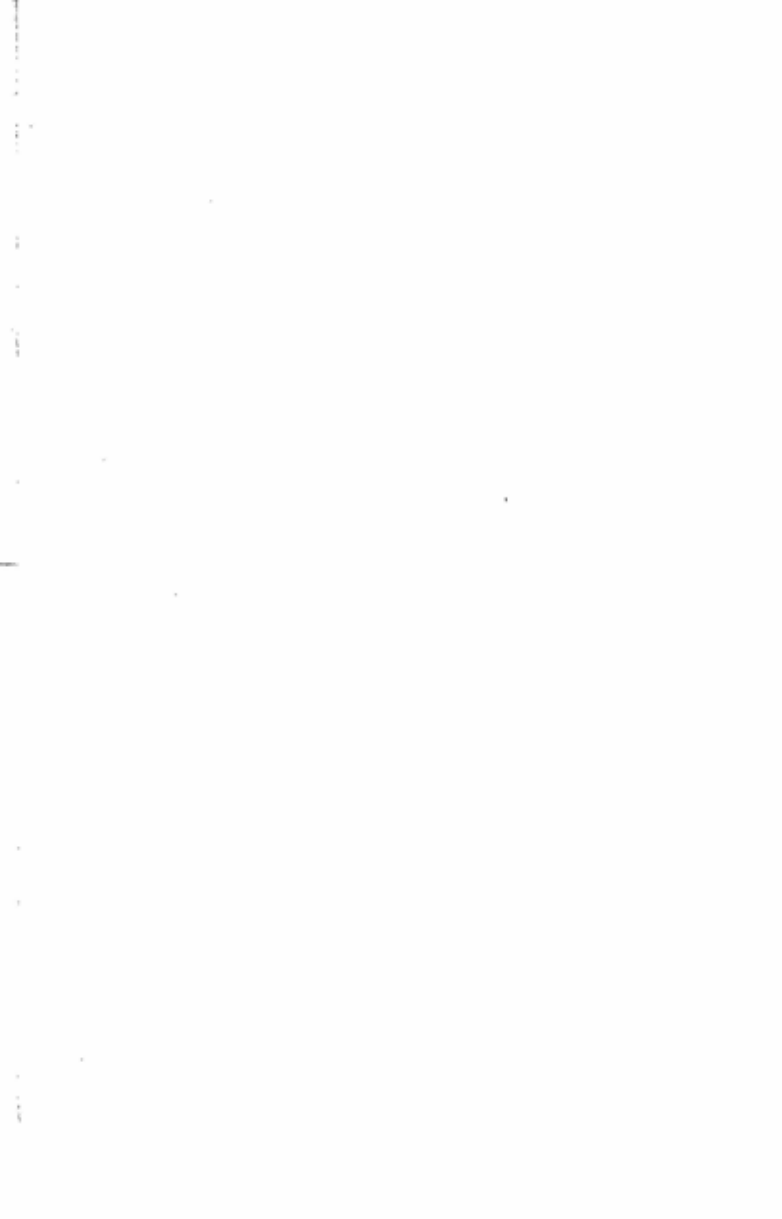
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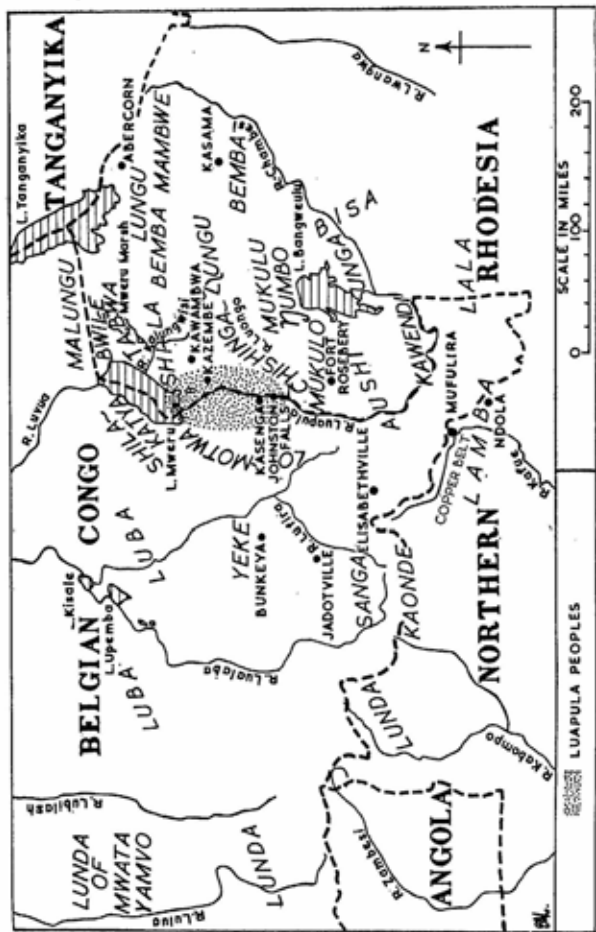
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THE LUAPULA PEOPLES
OF NORTHERN RHODESIA



MAP. I.—THE LUAPULA VALLEY AND MAIN SURROUNDING TRIMES

THE
LUAPULA PEOPLES
OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

CUSTOM AND HISTORY
IN TRIBAL POLITICS

by

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1966



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Rhodesia and extends into South-Eastern Katanga. They differ from most other tribes in this group in that they are primarily fishermen, a characteristic shared only by the Shila of Lake Mweru and the Unga of the Bangweulu swamps. But the Luapula peoples hold in common with a group much larger than the Bemba speakers their feature of organization in matrilineal clans. The area which this wider group occupies has been in the past, and still is, the scene of numerous migrations. In this area, from the Lualaba in the west to the Luangwa in the east, are to be found widely dispersed clans with broad similarities. Throughout the area bonds of common clanship can be invoked, whatever language is spoken. On the Luapula, over forty of these clans are represented, some of them in strength, others by only a few members.

While occupying part of this area of common clans, the Luapula peoples are not in other respects organized in a way which is typical of these East Central Bantu. In the whole area a kingship on the scale of Kazembe's is repeated only with Chitimukulu of the Bemba. But another important differentiating factor is this. On the Luapula, instead of having become moulded into a single tribe, the elements of the population, built up in a long series of immigrations, have each retained the tribal designation of the districts from which they came. This tribal differentiation within the community under one king not only is retained, but also by one means and another is brought into emphasis. One of the most important ways in which this is done is through particular histories. From the start of my field-work I was made to learn history perforce. Each group took pains to impress, through their history, who they were. There appeared to be a connection between this lively historical sense and the fact that the society consisted of many tribes under a strong kingship. Component groups stressed through their histories that they were distinctive, and that each had their own parts to play in the political and ritual running of the country. This is the aspect on which I concentrate in this book. But the groups concerned are not only tribes. They are of different kinds. The question posed is the manner in which the whole society tolerates its various divisions; or what positive roles the divisive institutions play in the integration of the society.

With this in view discussion centres on internal political rela-

tions, using 'political' in a broad sense. The subject-matter comprises those institutions which maintain and overcome the internal divisions of the society. I see them as 'intermediate' institutions, for they exclude on the one hand the kingship and the formal all-embracing political organization, and on the other hand the household and domestic kinship organization. This makes a rough category only, for analysis cannot separate the categories completely; and it will be evident, for instance, how the matrilineage (which I regard as intermediate in this sense) cannot be properly described without reference on the one hand to the domestic succession ceremony and on the other to its recognition by the kingship. Again, the institution of kingship itself demarcates a division in terms of individuals within the whole society, but by definition it has an integrating role.

Apart from history, differences in custom are used by the Luapula peoples to mark out one tribe from another. The special emphasis which I give throughout to the ideas of 'history' and 'custom' reflects the important role these have in the maintenance of group distinctiveness as a value. The role that custom plays in this respect will become clear in chapter II. As for history, not only are the bases of differentiation historical, but it is above all through the narration of histories that the differences between tribe and tribe, and lineage and lineage, are kept alive; moreover, history explains many differences of custom. These two elements are thus central to the problem, which could equally well be posed by asking why the histories are so important and why they are constructed as they are and contain the episodes they do. The arrangement of the book follows from this approach. Tribes, clans, lineages, chieftainships, and groups with specific rights in land ritual, are analysed in turn with special reference to what historical (including genealogical) content they have; and the final chapter deals more specifically with different types of history and assesses their roles in relation to the central problem.

Note on the Pronunciation of Luapula Bemba

Spelling is pronounced much as in Italian. The fricative B of Plateau Bemba is seldom heard on the Luapula. C is not quite the CH of 'church'. In written Bemba the usage is to have C without H except initially in proper names: e.g. *cifulo*, but

Chibondo. The NG of 'linger' is thus written; of 'singer' is written 'NG'. Bemba has the pre-prefix. Where a pre-prefix modifies a preceding vowel, I have written the phrase as pronounced: e.g. *kutole cifulo* and not *kutola icifulo*.

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Advice, helpful discussion, and hospitality came from many when I was in the Luapula Valley. Mr. E. C. Thompson and Mr. A. B. Shone, successive District Commissioners at Kawambwa, provided many facilities, as well as hospitality. To Mr. and Mrs. W. Densham, then of the Luapula Leprosy Settlement, I am particularly grateful for their hospitality and the relaxation of their company. My thanks are due also to the staffs of the mission stations in the valley, especially those of my near neighbours, the London Missionary Society at Mbereshi and the White Fathers at Lufubu.

When it comes to giving adequate thanks for friendship and information to the people among whom he worked, the anthropologist must fail. But I may hope that my book bears witness to the sufficiency of their information and in some measure reflects the friendship which they extended to a stranger.

I. C.

August 1958

CHAPTER I

LAND AND SETTLEMENT

The Country

THE present-day lands of Senior Chief Kazembe are not so wide as *The Lands of Cazembe* described in 1798 in the expedition diary of Lacerda.¹ In those days the sway of the kingship extended over much of the land lying between the Lualaba River and Lakes Tanganyika and Bangweulu; and the Luapula Valley, centrally situated in the area, had been chosen as the place where the capital was to be built and the kings to be buried.² But the territory is now confined to the east bank of the Luapula for a hundred miles or so before it enters Lake Mweru, and to a strip, about fourteen miles long, of the south-east shore of the lake. The country is narrow. Except in the north where the Mweru swamps broaden out, it is seldom more than 25-30 miles wide, while the settled and cultivated land is for the greater part a strip four or five miles broad along the edge of the Luapula River, its swamps, and Lake Mweru. The eastern boundary is a clearly marked escarpment where the plateau on the east has been cut by a long steep slope with a line of weirdly shaped rocks; and the western boundary, which is also the Rhodesia-Congo border, is the Luapula River itself.

Except for a few periods, the tale of the Kazembe kingship has been one of success. The capital, which was formerly the centre of a wide empire, now gains its renown from its comparative wealth, which is derived from the fertile Luapula fisheries, and from its progressiveness in the eyes of the British Administration. It was Kazembe XIV (1941-50) who first among the Kazembes attracted the admired attention of the authorities. His enthusiasm for progress in the form of education, town planning, public works and domestic hygiene was balanced by a respect for the customs of his forbears. The traveller coming from the plateau country in the east, dipping down over the escarpment with its wide views of the valley and the Kundelungu Mountains beyond it, emerges

¹ Translated in Burton, *The Lands of Cazembe*.

² Kazembe XIV, *Ifikolwe Fyandi na Bantu Bandi*, p. 55.

from bushland into a great line of villages which are strung, touching one another for miles on end, along the margin of the swamp. A contrast is at once obvious between the substantial sun-dried brick houses here, many of them with doors, windows and sashes, and with little hedges of sisal and pineapple enclosing gardens, and the rougher and poorer villages of the plateau. The people who throng the roads give the impression of sleek prosperity allied with great energy. The businesslike rags they wear on their fishing expeditions are replaced on Sundays by white shirts, creased trousers, polished shoes and felt hats; while the women vie for brightness of dress and head-cloth.

The Luapula peoples live in a country whose outstanding features are river and swamp. The Luapula River is a continuation of the Chambezi, which flows through the Bangweulu marshes and emerges southwards as the Luapula; then it sweeps widely west and north. In its upper reaches it makes its way through great rocks with many rapids and cataracts until finally at Johnston Falls it becomes a broad, deep and placid river, winding its way through widening swampland until it reaches Lake Mweru a hundred miles to the north. It is with this Rhodesian land of river, swamp and escarpment foothills that we are mainly concerned.

The essential features of the country may be seen from Map II. The river, although flowing through swamp, is bounded for most of its way by a narrow strip of hard land. Behind this strip is a variety of kinds of swampland. There is sudd (matted vegetation, mostly papyrus, floating on water) which it is possible to walk on. There are great clumps of papyrus and lesser areas of bamboo and ambach. There is flood plain—hard land covered with grasses but liable to flood towards the end of the rains. After the flood has subsided numerous pans and lagoons remain, and many of these are permanent stretches of water of considerable size. One of them, Mofwe, near which the old capitals were all built, is about six miles by three. The swamp is also cut by a number of man-made and natural waterways.

Parts of the river-bank are inhabited. In places, no swamp intervenes between the river and the main hard land of the escarpment foothills; elsewhere the riverside strips and the islands in the swamp are dry at all seasons and large enough to afford room for cultivation and permanent dwellings. In this respect the



PLATE I

The capital of Kazembe stands on Mwanabombwe Hill overlooking the swamp which at this point is about twelve miles wide. Pembe Lagoon appears behind at the left.



PLATE II

Lake Mweru: the British Administration's jetty at Ncelenge, 1930. The north-eastern tip of Isokwe Island appears on the horizon.

western, Congo, bank is better off than the Rhodesian. The terrain on the two sides is markedly different. The Congo side is liberally supplied with habitable swamp islands, notably Chibondo and Mwambo, and riverside villages are found most of the way between Johnston Falls and the Lutipuka River. Low ribs of land come from the Kundelungu Mountains right through the swamps to the river's edge, and these provide commodious and fertile dwelling-sites close to an abundance of fish.

On the Rhodesian side the swamp margin is cut about by many tributary rivers which flow at all seasons and come in impressive waterfalls from the plateau over the escarpment. Seen from the swamp, the mainland to the east appears as a series of undulations between these tributaries. Some of the rivers have swamps of their own as they enter the main valley floor. These 'damboes' may be up to two miles wide, and may bite back well into the hard land to create formidable natural obstacles to communication. The main ones are the Nshinda swamp, and the valleys of the Mbereshi, Lufubu and Mubende Rivers. On the Rhodesian side there is only one stretch of about fifteen miles where the hard land touches the river without any swamp: this is the district round the present Lukwesa, where a reach of the river and an inlet named Luke are flanked by an unbroken line of villages. Otherwise only the swamp island of Chisenga, itself cut off from the hard land, affords riverside habitation on the east side.

As to the lands by Lake Mweru, the southern shore consists of a narrow strip of slightly elevated land rising out of the swamp. The south-eastern shore continues as a series of undulations between tributary valleys, although here and there the land ends precipitously. Three large islands break the lake's southern end. The island of Isokwe, in the south-eastern corner, cuts off a shallow muddy-bottomed bay, the Chimbofuma, from the main lake waters. Isokwe is a low sandbank about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, now inhabited only by temporary residents in fishing camps. Kilwa Island, whose bastion of Luka faces the traveller at the mouth of the Luapula about three miles out, is the largest of the islands. Among its seven hills there is an isolated natural outcrop of oil-palms. Here are both permanent villages and fishing camps. The third island, Nkole, is in Belgian territory at the very mouth of the river. Apart from permanent villages and fishing camps, this

has stores visited on occasion by their European owners from the Belgian administrative capital of Kasenga near Johnston Falls.

At Johnston Falls the rainfall is about 46 inches a year, but downstream it becomes less.¹ Rain falls intermittently from October to April or May, generally in violent thunderstorms of short duration, accompanied by fierce winds. The storms usually occur in the afternoons, and the sky clears and the ground dries out before the next downpour. Often in the middle of the rains there is a period of drought in which the earth may cake and crack as in the dry season. In May, the clear moisture-laden atmosphere of the rains is suddenly replaced by a dry haze, and the high land across the valley, easily discerned in the wet season, is reduced to a blurred outline. During the dry season when the swamp and bush are burned the haze becomes intense. At the same time the weather is colder, July being the coldest month. In August the heat recommences, and it becomes even hotter, with a dust-laden, searing wind, until the rains bring relief in October.

The land near the swamp is taken up mainly by soils and vegetation known locally as *cipya*. This is characterized by the growth of exceptionally tall grasses, and is rich and retentive of moisture.² On the Rhodesian side there is no scarcity of *cipya*, although it gives way nearer the escarpment to a much poorer soil and vegetation called *mutengo* which yields only a very short grass growth. In the bush there is much small game with occasional herds of the larger antelope, zebra and buffalo. Lions and other predators are common and do much damage to life and property. The swamp is far richer in game than the bush. Red lechwe and puku roam the dried-out flood plains, with occasional

¹ Trapnell, *The Soils, Vegetation and Agriculture of North-Eastern Rhodesia*, para 7.

² The variety of *cipya* found near the Luapula is described by Trapnell as follows: 'Cipya refers to vegetation in which various trees other than *Brachystegia* and *Isoberlinia* grow mixed in very tall grasses. . . . While predominantly of a deciduous nature it is remarkable for containing local dense evergreen thickets, known as *Mateshi*, which are composed of *syzygium guineense* f. together with numerous other evergreens proper to rain forest conditions . . . [The soils are] at once permeable and retentive of moisture until late in the dry season. . . . The height and luxuriance of the grass growth . . . is equalled only on the best soils of the territory. . . . [The soils have] a clear superiority over the surrounding types.' *Ibid.*, paras. 58, 87.

situtunga hiding in the papyrus. Waterfowl are abundant. Crocodiles and hippo are common although their numbers are much less than formerly. There are numerous elephant on the west bank; formerly elephant and buffalo were common throughout the swamp.¹

The country of Kazembe is Native Trust Land, and may not be used for European settlement or for the sole profit of European settlers. The only European residents of the valley on the east bank are the staffs of the Administration's Luapula Leprosy Settlement and of five mission stations. Of these, two belong to the Brethren in Christ (Plymouth Brethren), one to the London Missionary Society, and two to the White Fathers. Mbereshi mission station was founded in 1900 by the L.M.S. on the suggestion of Dan Crawford who had recently established a Brethren's station on the west coast of Lake Mweru. On the Congo bank of the river there are three mission stations, one belonging to the Brethren and two to the Benedictines.

In contrast to the situation on the Rhodesian side, European settlement has gone ahead in Belgian territory. Kasenga, the Belgian administrative capital, is on the very bank of the river whereas the British Administration is at Kawambwa, about 27 miles east of Kazembe. Kasenga is also the headquarters of the fish trade, which is run mainly by Greeks. These traders, who established their business in response to the demand for food for labourers at Elisabethville in the twenties, not only collect fish from the fishing camps, but have set up a string of general stores at suitable points on the Congo side of the river and lake. The European population of Kasenga is about 140. A Belgian steamer runs twice a month between Kasenga and Mpweto, in the northern corner of Lake Mweru. A motor road of about 150 miles connects Kasenga with Elisabethville. The year 1950 saw neither

¹ F. R. Holmes permitted himself a lurid account of the river: 'It is a beautiful river to look at, one of the most beautiful in all Africa, but a horrible river to have anything to do with. It runs through many miles of country desolated by sleeping sickness, where tsetse fly and hippo fly bite one all day, and mosquitoes and a dozen other things bite one all night. It is chock full of the biggest crocodiles on earth which have had many a human meal and will of a certainty snatch at any hand left dangling carelessly over the side of a canoe; its hippo are countless in number and enormous in size, and liable at any moment to charge a canoe to which they take dislike, and the heat is terrific'. *Through Wildest Africa*, p. 32.

public water transport¹ nor large-scale fish-marketing facilities on the British side of the river.

The staple foods of the Luapula peoples are fish and cassava. Fish has always been there; it is said that cassava was introduced by Kazembe's Lunda when they migrated from the west. The Luapula peoples expend much of their abundant energy in obtaining these foods. Many other crops are grown: of these, maize and finger-millet for beer, palm-oil kernels for cooking-oil, groundnuts, sweet potatoes, many kinds of pumpkins, sugar-cane, rice, mangoes, bananas and pawpaws are the most common, with oranges, guavas and pineapples of more recent introduction. Other foods available from time to time are honey, caterpillars, mushrooms and papyrus. Sheep and goats are quite numerous. Game is much hunted, particularly in the swamps, with shotguns, muzzle-loaders and spring-traps.

Livelihood: Fishing

Fishing has now taken the place of elephant hunting² as the main source of wealth on the Luapula. The conditions of fishing and fishermen have changed vastly in the course of time but the means of fishing have always been dictated by the condition of the waters and the annual cycle of flood and fall.

With the beginning of the rains, the small tributary rivers coming down from the escarpment soon flow in spate and pour their waters into the swamp. Few of these rivers flow directly to the Luapula, for their waters enter lagoons, or spread themselves widely over the plain, or else get lost under the spreading of sudd. Thus before the Luapula has brought down its main flow from the Bangweulu swamps the plain is already beginning to fill. The paths over the dry-season plain become watercourses, ditches are filled up, and the troughs carrying water send effluents in all directions. At any moment an area of sudd may become taut with the new force of water underneath it and crack open at its weakest spot, sending out the enclosed water in a great torrent. Towards

¹ In the early years of the century the African Lakes Corporation ran a small steamer from Chiengi, its centre on the north shore of Mweru. This has long been out of commission.

² The quantity of ivory at Kazembe's court is mentioned by most early travellers. Cf. Giraud, *Les Lacs de l'Afrique Equatoriale* (referring to 1884), p. 370.

the end of the rains the current of the Luapula increases markedly. It mounts so high that tributary streams change their directions and water flows out of the main river and spills over the plain. In a year of good flood the river-banks are themselves overwhelmed and the whole plain is covered in many feet of water. Seasons are remembered when the whole valley appeared as a lake, but usually the water fails to overtop the grass and papyrus and seen from the hard land the valley presents an aspect little different from the dry season.

The rains come to an end, the waters recede, and the familiar configuration of the swamp is seen again. Canoes which during the rains had been paddled over the extent of the valley floor are now confined to channels and lagoons, and slowly the swamp-land becomes available for other purposes. The high ground dries, the lagoons become defined. Game roams in vast herds over the flood plain. Waterfowl return to dabble in the mud and weave their way among the lilies that cover nearly every stretch of open water. Channels are overtopped by high grasses leaning into each other. In time the water in the channels may fail, canoes may have to be hauled over stretches of mud. In a dry year, whole lagoons may lose their water and reveal great muddy saucers. In some years the flood fails completely and the river rises hardly at all. Such a season occurred in 1948-9, when citizens of Kazembe could reach the Luapula only by foot; on the river motor-boats were stranded, and elephant walked from one side to the other.

The flood regulates the movements of some kinds of fish, and as it happens these fish are among the most important in the economy. The *mpumbu* ('Luapula salmon', *flaveo altivelis*) live during the dry season in the main river and lake. With the Luapula spate, they make their way upstream to two main spawning grounds, the flooded Lutipuka plain and the mouth of the Kanshiba River, near Johnston Falls. In these two places, thousands of fish spawn in the course of a day and night and then make their way downstream again. Other less numerous species are associated with the *mpumbu* in these movements. The other important movement regulated by the flood is that of certain bream-like fish, mainly the *pale* (*tilapia macrochir*) which, with the flooding of the plain, leave the lagoons or the main river and enter the little freshly formed channels among the grasses to spawn.

The flood does not have such a great effect on fishing activities

as might be supposed, or upon the movements of people; but it affects the methods used for catching the fish at various seasons. People fish all the year round, as they did in the past. Fish (along with meat) is the only relish to a meal of cassava which is really acceptable. One hardly dare offer a guest a meal which does not contain flesh of some kind, and many would rather go without than condescend to eat *katapa*—boiled cassava or pumpkin leaves—which is the standby in times of shortage.

Before fish became a 'cash crop', villagers managed to catch sufficient without venturing far afield. The fishing waters are said to have been more numerous and the population was smaller. The Kayo area, near the present capital, for instance, was settled at the end of last century with only three or four villages along the length of Kayo lagoon. By 1951 the lagoon had disappeared and there were 27 villages on what used to be its edge. In the past also, a greater proportion of people lived on the islands in the swamp and on the river-bank strips. Others could find relish enough in the tributary streams by which they lived. Today however the fishing camps (*nkambi* or *mitanda*, meaning 'temporary huts') are of great importance. Once they were not so: fishermen might build beehive huts so that they could spend a night in the swamps if overtaken by evening or weather. But it was not necessary to make an operational base away from the villages. Normally, fishermen would go out for a few hours in the morning and return with relish for the day. They might spend two or three days on an expedition in order to catch enough fish to dry as rations for a journey, or in order to trade fish, with people whose economic life was more closely associated with the bush, for finger-millet, honey, caterpillars and other produce. Generally speaking it was only hunters who spent any length of time away from their villages.

I shall not enumerate all the fishing methods used. Most fishing is done individually by the setting of nets or baskets, or by the driving of fish into nets by drumming the water with a knobbed stick, an operation called *kutumpula*. People may combine to build a long fence across a shallow lagoon, with baskets set in it, but each man then has his own section of the fence to maintain, and he takes the fish he finds in his own baskets. Likewise with nets: three or four men may set their nets together and drive fish up to them, but the fish belong to the owner of the net in which

they are found. Some special appliances are used at some seasons. The *litumba* basket—a peculiarly Lunda method of fishing—in the shape of an oblate spheroid with openings at each side, is used only to catch the *pale* as they go to or come from spawning on the flood plain in February. For the rest, they catch fish in nets, in baskets, in traps; they hook them, spear them, guddle them and dig them out of the mud with hoes. And to help them along, they chant praises to the fish and nets, and medicate the baskets, nets, hooks or lines with which they are fishing.

But nowadays the swamps, river and lake sustain a great industry, and are no longer merely the larder from which the people draw daily rations. The speed of development and the success of the industry have been remarkable. It started in a small way in the early 1920s and in the year 1932 already 931 tons of fish passed through the town of Kasenga on the way to Elisabethville. In 1942 the figure was nearly 4,000 tons.¹ The industry is run mainly by a community of Greeks who themselves started life as fishermen on the Island of Rhodes. A road was put through to Elisabethville, lorries were bought, ice-factories built at Kasenga, and motor-boats launched on the river. At all seasons five or six fish-buying motor-boats leave Kasenga daily packed with ice. They go down to Nkole Island, which is used as a base from which to visit lakeside camps. After three or four mornings of touring, the boats return to Kasenga and are met by lorries on the Luapula strand, which take the fish overnight to Elisabethville.² Some dried fish are also bought. Since many of the fishing camps in the swamps are far from the buying centres, fish are dried in the camps and taken to them in large batches. The Greeks use their general stores on the river as fish-buying centres.

Although the Luapula is an international boundary (the dividing line on Mweru includes Kilwa in Rhodesia) this has little influence on the trade.³ Fishermen from both sides of the river fish on both sides of the river, but all fishermen sell the bulk of their

¹ Figures kindly made available by the Fish Ranger, Kawambwa.

² For a description of the trade, see Paine, 'Lake Mweru: Its Fish and Fishing Industry'. The article also contains a good short description of a fishing camp.

³ This refers to 1951. More recently, I am informed, considerable developments in fish marketing have taken place at Ncelenge, which I knew only as the jetty for the Administration's motor-boat on the lake. The developments include the establishment of a boat-building school.

catches to the Greeks in the Congo. In return they receive francs, many of which go straight back into the stores of the Greeks in which they originated. The stores in the Congo outclass those on the Rhodesian bank. Francs as well as sterling are acceptable currency to the people of Kazembe.

Since the Greek buyers arrived, there are few people who do not fish at one time or another, men, women and children. On the other hand there are individuals and groups whose whole life is fishing and who spend the greater part of their year in camps away from the villages. Others are casual fishermen who, in need of some ready cash, will build a camp and spend some time fishing until they have earned enough for their present needs. Still others fish only when waters are suitable within easy reach of their villages. There is no clearly defined pattern of fishing activities, no mass movements of fishermen at particular times; but each man follows inclination or financial necessity to go where and when he will. For fish are to be found in the swamps, in the river and in the lake, nearly everywhere nearly all the time.

The swamp and valleys and islands were originally under independent 'Owners of the Land' ¹ who later became subject to the centralized rule of the Lunda conqueror, Kazembe. Before people started selling fish for cash, they found it convenient for reasons of safety or comfort to fish only near their homes. At the same time restraint was placed on fishing and hunting in the territory of an Owner of the Land other than one's own. Nowadays the imposition of net tax has weakened the position of the Owners of the Land; these no longer find it a straightforward matter to obtain tribute from fishermen on their waters, because the fishermen are now paying 'tribute' elsewhere in the form of tax. Money-making is now the fisherman's chief concern and he goes where he expects to get the best catches. Even under the old system there were no fishing sites reserved to individuals, and a man could fish as he liked so long as his fishing did not interfere with that of another.²

¹ Translating *bene ba mpanga* (sing. *mwine wa mpanga*). I use initial capitals to indicate this position throughout. See especially chap. VIII.

² The lack of rights in fishing sites is in contrast to the system among the Unga of Lake Bangweulu, the nearest large fishing community, where there is hereditary ownership of weirs. See Brelsford, *Fishermen of the Bangweulu Swamps*, chap. V.

Under the present system fishermen exploit to the full their right to go where they want, subject to demands which certain Owners of the Land and other chiefs can still put forward for tribute. Nowadays fishermen do not confine their activities to the waters of the Owner of the Land on which they live, of their political chief, or even of Kazembe. Many of Kazembe's subjects fish at times from Kilwa Island, which is now under the Shila chief Mununga of the Kalungwisi River farther north. This right is reciprocated, and strangers come from the plateau or from the Belgian Congo or from farther north on Lake Mweru to fish the Luapula, Mweru and the swamps.

The only obligation is net tax, which is payable once a year to the Treasury of each Senior Native Authority in whose territory a man works a net. In the Congo there is no net tax, but the Greek middlemen are taxed according to the weight of fish they carry to Elisabethville. If a Congo African fishes from British territory he is liable to British net tax. Nets alone are taxed among fishing implements: basket and trap fishing is tax-free. Other fishing regulations, fixing the size of mesh and so on, have been imposed by agreement between British and Belgian authorities in order to conserve fish. On the east bank, these regulations are enforced, as far as it is possible to enforce them, by African fishguards employed by the British Administration, who also control prices at the fish market near Kazembe's capital.

It is not easy to ascertain the number of fishermen and there is little point in doing so since nearly everyone fishes and it is simply a matter of degree whether a man may be termed a fisherman or not. In 1949 there were 1,912 net licences issued for the southern part of the lake and 946 for the Luapula area, a total of 2,858. This figure takes no account of the owners of more than one net (each net is taxed), or of those who fish by other means, or of Congo Africans who fish solely in the Congo, or of those who evade tax.

Luapula residents are swamp-orientated. Except in the few villages away from the swamp margin people have no great interest in, or knowledge of, the bush and use it only for the few essentials that may be got from it: uprights for houses, wood for canoes and various household objects, bark for rope, and medicines. Fearing wild beasts, people do not wander in the bush more

than is necessary.¹ The waters are different. Young children learn to paddle from an early age, and the canoe-park is a favourite playground. From the age of five or six, boys accompany their fathers on long fishing expeditions, perhaps just sitting in the bow of the canoe, but gradually taking on one man-size task after another, learning the ways of fish, the names of water plants, the techniques of basket-making, hook-baiting and so on. At the village they spend hours each day by the water and make miniature nets for catching minnows in the shallows.

A boy in his teens gets his father's net for a night's fishing on the Luapula. He takes a friend in his father's canoe and sets up in his father's fishing camp. Here he joins the other fishermen who happen to be at the same part of the river, and fishes with them till midnight, paddling hard to keep warm. The river is a chaos of shouting and of drumming the water with sticks. And in the morning he sells his catch. On the lake, the boy's apprenticeship begins later, for here the work is harder and there are real dangers from sudden squalls. Usually nets are up to an hour's paddle from camp, but if fish near the shore are scarce, nets may be set ten miles out in the lake. This involves leaving camp well before sunrise and steering first by the stars, and the sun is well up by the time the great conical ambach markers are reached. Here two fishermen join together and each with his crew of youths takes week about in visiting the nets of both. In spite of their knowledge of local conditions and the worthiness of the dug-out canoes, some lake fishermen are drowned most years.

Once the young fisherman has learned with his father's equipment to be reasonably competent he looks about for a net owner who wants assistance, and earns pay and rations by fishing for him. When he has earned enough, he buys either a reel of cotton or an old motor tyre² for about 12s. 6d., makes his own net, sets up camp, or lives in the camp of friends, and fishes. If he is diligent, and careful with his money and does not have to answer too many domestic demands, he can buy himself a reel of nylon and

¹ Hunters are the exception, who hunt in swampland and bush alike. In the bush they erect small camps, or single huts, which are substantial and last for many years.

² Threads lining the inside of tyres are stripped from the rubber. One tyre can provide a serviceable small net. There is a regular trade in old tyres for this purpose.

make a net which will last for several years. Then he can buy another and have young men fish for him. Once he has reached this stage he is but a step from what is the goal of many fishermen: to have money enough to set up a store in his own village, selling bread and tea and bananas, or second-hand American clothing bought in bales at Kasenga. Storekeeping is held to be the way to get rich quickly. There are few villages in the country without a store or a tea-room. Some men have gone even further with money derived originally from fishing, having set up bus services and built themselves two-storey houses. But the great centre of wealth is Kasenga where by 1943 eighteen Africans had bought motor-boats and set up fish-buying concerns. By now there are many more.

Fishing camps may be permanent or temporary and they may take the form of single huts, or clusters of many hundreds. A hut belongs to the man who built it, but by convention any traveller may use it in his absence; but it may not be used as a base for fishing without the owner's consent. On land near good fishing water which never floods the huts may be built of mud and sticks, should building mud be available. In some of the larger camps by Lake Mweru there are stores, tea-rooms and bakeries, beer-houses and dancing enclosures: it astonishes visitors that a fishing camp should have the comforts of a village. Such camps are exceptional, and seem to exist mainly where they are readily accessible by road. On the banks of the Luapula a few fishing camps have buildings constructed of sun-dried brick, indistinguishable from village houses. But generally camps in the swamps and on the river-bank are temporary affairs, lightly-built beehive huts of grass strengthened by mango or some other pliant wood. When the flood rises they may or may not be above it; if they are washed away it is of little consequence, for they can be rebuilt in the course of a morning. Many of these camps are hard to reach, particularly in the dry season, for not all fishing lagoons are connected to the river by a waterway. In these camps the amenities of the Mweru camps are not available. It is felt to be an achievement if a camp of this sort has enough permanence for womenfolk to establish themselves there and make beer for the fishermen.

It is customary if a man is going fishing for any length of time that he should establish a camp which is not within easy reach of

his village. His object is to make money so he does not want to be worried by relatives begging for fish, or to be preoccupied with village affairs. Far away, he can turn his whole attention to money-making. He may also be tempted to settle at a distance in order to be away from his own chief's demands for tribute, which is collected by chiefs' messengers who go round the camps; or, more important, in order to be within short reach of a centre where he can sell his catches easily. A man may set up two camps, one near his village and the other some distance off. Some camp sites are associated with particular villages, in that members of these villages are generally to be found in them, but there is nothing to prevent others using the same piece of ground. The typical camp is an agglomeration of people who happen along. It has no headman, and none of the political or ritual attributes of ordinary villages. I only once saw recognition of an informal leader of a large camp. The first to build on a site has no authority over later arrivals.

The fisherman in his camp keeps some fish for his day's rations but likes to sell the rest for cash. It is most convenient to sell to the *capitao*¹ of a firm of middlemen on the spot; or he may take the fish himself to a buying centre. Few fishermen take fish to their villages, or to any other village, to sell; and thus in spite of the quantities of fish caught daily there is a dearth of it in the villages. The only fish which come straight to a village from the fishing grounds are those of casual fishermen who have set baskets or nets by night to bring in a small catch for their wives, and sell the remainder quietly to other villagers. Some villages are situated conveniently near lagoons like Mofwe and the Chimbofuma where good catches are made most days and most villagers feed regularly on fish. Otherwise the supply of fish in the villages hangs on the fact that the camps can rarely be self-sufficient.

Camps depend on villages for certain necessary commodities. These are generally obtained by barter. A fishing expedition is not lightly undertaken. If a man goes out, he first has to build his hut, and the swamp has no materials for this apart from grass. He has to take wood to build his camp. The swamp

¹ This Portuguese word has entered the Luapula dialect with the meaning of foreman or responsible employee, usually with reference to a European commercial firm.

has no firewood; he has to take his own. He has nets, cassava, blankets and other things; and since he has to have a young helper with him, he cannot take equipment for more than about a week in his canoe. If he intends to settle for some time in camp he will have to make many trips or send helpers in order to maintain the necessities of life in camp. He gets these necessities by barter. Near Kazembe's capital, at the end of Chipitabaluba channel, there is a market. Here every morning fishermen from camps on the Luapula and nearby swamps come with fish seeking firewood and cassava. Here also congregate women from the whole district between the capital and Mbereshi, avid for fish and offering in exchange firewood, cassava, sweet *munkoyo* beer, and various foods in season. In another form of barter people set out from their villages with a canoe-load of firewood and go to some camp where firewood is difficult to obtain, and there exchange it for dried fish.

From villages in the south end of the lake the men usually go to the same fishing camps farther north along the lake shore. Here supply of fish for the villages is organized on a village basis, and either it is arranged that some men are left in the village to fish in the shallow Chimbofuma, or else a young man with a bicycle is detailed to make daily trips between village and camp, taking fish in one direction, and cassava meal, which the women have pounded, in the other. To these mainland fishing camps also come regular supplies of cassava and vegetable and finger-millet to be bartered for fish. The barter is not restricted to the inhabitants of the valley. Chishinga men often come down to the camps or lakeside villages with a pocketful of money to buy fish for some particular purpose, either for their own food or to distribute at the end of a working bee. A few people from Kazembe buy dried fish and transport it by bicycle to the Copperbelt over 200 miles away, where a load may profit them five or six pounds.

Camps and villages thus depend on one another heavily. But some camps, like those on Kilwa and Isokwe Islands, are permanent; at these, cassava, maize and millet are cultivated along with wet-season vegetables, and firewood is readily available. Owners of other camps may cultivate in their own neighbourhood if they happen to be there when the plants will yield. But even if these are self-sufficient the villages are still short of fish and the traffic between village and camp goes on. The camps are

at the beginning slapdash affairs and an increase of comfort throughout the season of occupation can come only through constant intercourse with and getting stores from the villages. Thus in spite of the fisherman's desire to cut himself off there are factors on both sides which make it unlikely he will be successful.

Luapula waterways are busy and these journeys naturally serve other ends than purely economic ones. A journey on the river is a series of conversations with members of one riverside camp after another. Distances between villages and camps are diminished by the volume of traffic, and there is a shuttle service of news and messages as well as of food and firewood. The river is a unifying element almost as important as the valley road which passes through most of Kazembe's villages.

Livelihood: Cultivation

The second great occupation of the Luapula peoples is the cultivation of cassava. In the old days, it is said, cassava was not cultivated to any great extent. Whereas a meal nowadays consists of a large basin of cassava and a small plate of fish, formerly it consisted of much fish and little cassava, and children were told while eating with elders not to take cassava until they had had some mouthfuls of fish. Today, life without cassava is an intolerable notion. Cassava is the basis of any meal, and though a man may eat a basinful of sweet potatoes, if he has not had his *bwali*, his polenta of cassava, he 'sleeps with hunger'. Many Luapula residents decline meal of anything but cassava flour, although millet polenta is the common food of the plateau tribes.

Cassava (*tute*: the plateau Bemba word *kalundwe* is not used) grows readily in the *cipya* soils of the Luapula Valley. It is remarkable, in these soils at any rate, for the ease with which it grows, the little attention it requires, and the fact that it can withstand a drought fairly well. Moreover it is a root crop which requires no storage, being left in the ground until needed. Against this, it is a crop of low food value compared with the staple grains of the plateau peoples.

Assuming that fallow gardens exist ready to be opened, with bush grown up to a height of five or six feet, the cultivation timetable is as follows. The young trees are cut down and moved out of the way, and in December or January the garden is hoed up in oval or semi-circular mounds, the grass being buried in the



(a) A fishing camp on an island in Kamaundu Lagoon, between Mofwe and the Luapula. A dry-season picture, with the water about four feet deep and brackish, rich in *tilapia* bream-like fish.



(b) Clearing nets, Isokwe Island.



(a) Groundnuts growing in first-year cassava mounds by the side of the dam formed by the Lufubu River where it enters the swamp.



(b) Bartering fish for cassava meal at the market near Kazembe.

mounds and fresh soil laid on top. This is man's work. Women follow behind with cuttings from old cassava plants and stick seven or eight into each mound at angles. These operations take about three weeks for a large garden. In mounds of first-year cassava, seeds of pumpkins, maize or groundnuts are usually planted, for these will ripen towards the end of the rains from February to May and do not obstruct the growth of the cassava. The cassava roots are large enough in the second dry season to be pulled out as required, but the longer they remain in the ground up to the third dry season the larger they grow. Cassava may however be dug out at any time during its second, third or fourth years. Apart from these operations the only attention required is weeding, which is done by women usually twice a year. The Administration insists upon weeding, and a woman is not allowed to join her husband in his fishing camp until she has weeded twice.¹ A man's work is confined to the preparation of the gardens, a matter of a month or two, according to the number of gardens he works. Most men have in addition a garden of maize or sweet potatoes in the rich black soils of the swamp edge. Within or around the village on open spaces, or on a man's old house site, gardens of maize or vegetables are planted out early, or tobacco late in the rains.

At the formation of a new village, or when a man has moved to a village some distance away, he has a new piece of bush to open up. He works new ground also if he wants to extend the number of his gardens, and this involves extra work during the preceding dry season. The gardener cuts down the trees, piles them in one part of the garden, usually beside an anthill, and leaves them to dry. Just before the rains he burns them and by planting early on this burnt patch, which is not made up into mounds, he can have a very early crop of maize.

Citemene, the pollarding of trees over a wide area and burning of the branches over the whole of the proposed garden, is practised only by a minority. Cassava is not often planted out by this method, but patches of *citemene* ground are used for the cultivation of finger-millet, mainly by members of certain tribes which

¹ A regulation disliked not only because of the work involved, but also because, it is claimed, white ants which used to eat the weeds now eat the cassava.

brought the practice in the past seventy years or so from the plateau. The *mateshi* thickets (p. 4, n. 2) are used for finger-millet cultivation. Those who grow finger-millet are, generally speaking, people who do not fish, and there is barter of fish against finger-millet so that fishermen can make the much-prized *katubi* beer. This beer is seldom used commercially, but is the usual beer for ceremonies and in payment of working bees.

A man is free to cultivate where he likes so long as he does not interfere with garden work already started, or cultivate on the fallows of another, or cultivate on the land on to which another cultivator might be likely to extend his garden. He can book land a year in advance by cultivating a single mound in the middle of the garden he proposes. There is plenty of good *cipya* land near the villages and generally it is only millet gardens which are more than two or three miles distant from them. Except in a few areas where the prevalence of bush-pig requires added precautions, there is no such thing as a village gardens area, and gardens of one village are intermingled with those of its neighbour, and of others. In pig-infested districts, villagers band together to dig a protective ditch round an area in which all the village gardens can be placed. No one may cultivate inside it unless he helps to dig or maintain the ditch. But members of other villages, if they help with the ditch, may cultivate inside it. Likewise the swamp is open to whomsoever wishes to cultivate it. Towards the end of the dry season there are usually to be found a few gardens of maize and cucurbits which yield a crop soon after the beginning of the rains. Although the soil is rich the swampland is not put to its full cultivable use. These gardens are not easy to protect adequately against nocturnal raids by lechwe and are thus not very common.

The rich black loam of the swamp edge is a scarcer commodity than *cipya*. A village headman has control of the portion of swamp edge nearest his village: this is the *cabu* (canoe park: the word also means ford or ferry). Each village has its own *cabu* where people bathe, wash their clothes and household utensils, draw their water from swamp pools or swamp-side wells and springs, and park their canoes. The headman's permission has to be obtained before a stranger uses this place regularly. Likewise the land nearby is under the headman's control, and a stranger must have his assent before cultivating it. The *cabu* area of the village is called, like the village itself, after the name of the headman.

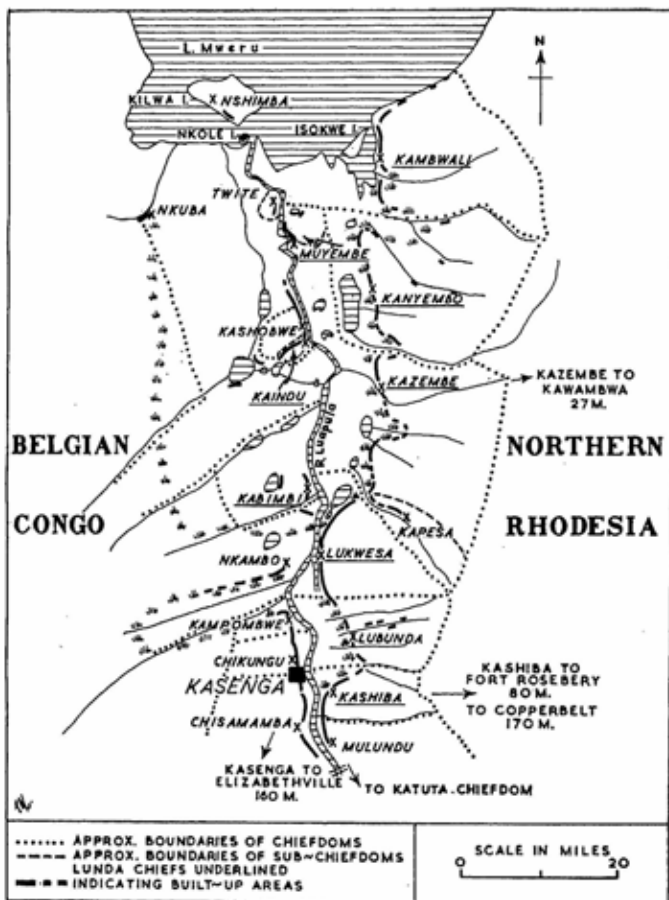
Livelihood and Village Settlement

The type of village settlement and distribution is related in certain features to the economic factors mentioned. What characterizes the settlement of villages today is lineal distribution along the swamp edge, substantial size of villages, and permanence on their sites. The lineal distribution refers primarily to the east bank. West-bank villages are also mainly positioned in strings but the nature of the swamp islands and ridges makes the ribbon development less obvious.

Village distribution has changed for many reasons, but the present fishing industry favours the lineal distribution along the swamp margin. Map III indicates the distribution of villages at the present time. But at the turn of the century the general picture was rather different, with a larger proportion of villages lying in the tributary valleys. At that time, 13 villages out of a total of 70 on the east bank, or 18.8 per cent, were away from the swamp edge; while today there are only 38 out of a total of 315, or 12.1 per cent, away from the swamp edge; and many of these are very small indeed.¹ The two essentials of being near *cipya* land and near a water supply could both be satisfied by residence on swamp edge or tributary stream. Many of the tributary streams also have black soils like those of the swamp edge, at least in those stretches where they form damboes. With the earlier smaller population the tributaries might have afforded enough fish for daily needs. But they do not yield enough for even the domestic needs of the present population. The swamp on the contrary has a limitless yield (or so it appears to the fishermen) and earns them money. It is thus convenient to live beside. Moreover the old iron-smelting industry which flourished on the Ng'ona and Kapweshi Rivers some miles upstream died out in accordance with the treaty which reserved mineral rights, among other things, to the British South Africa Company. Many old kilns stand derelict.

Now therefore some 277 villages are strung along the 115 miles of swamp and lake edge from Johnston Falls to the Mwatishi River at the northern boundary of Kazembe's country. The distance includes a number of gaps of a few miles and thus the

¹ The figures for the turn of the century were obtained through data supplied by informants who were adult at that time.



MAP III.—MODERN CHIEFDOMS AND VILLAGE DISTRIBUTION

villages where they exist are closely set together, and there are stretches where it is impossible to distinguish any boundaries between six or more adjacent villages. This dense settlement is a new phenomenon. The earliest population figures available are for 1914, when an estimate was made of 18,142 over the east bank from Johnston Falls to the Mwatishi. In 1929 the estimate for the same area was 29,785; and the latest figures I have, derived from censuses of chiefdoms taken individually between 1941 and 1949, is 39,795. Thus in the course of 35 years, the east bank population increased by 119.4 per cent. In those parts of Kawambwa District away from the Luapula, the increase in the same period was 73 per cent. A marked increase is discernible also for the Congo chiefdoms, although I could find no figures prior to 1946. The 1950 total of 21,096 is an increase of 29 per cent over the 1946 total. The growth of the town of Kasenga and its environs is mainly responsible for this.¹

On the Rhodesian side, the population is accommodated in villages varying markedly in size. Excluding the capital of Kazembe, which consists of twelve sections each the size of a big village, and the other chiefs' capitals, the size of villages ranges from five to at least 145 houses (in Mukamba, one of the largest villages). The median range is from twenty to thirty houses.

Many of the Luapula villages are of long standing, as Table V (p. 47) will show. This table refers to their existence as communities without reference to their locality: villages can and do move while retaining the same name and composition. But there is no necessity to make regular moves, as for instance the Bemba do every four or five years, to seek fresh land.² Of 41 villages for which I have the necessary information, two have not shifted since they were originally formed some two or three hundred years ago; three shifted last before 1900; twenty more shifted last before 1920; six in the twenties, five in the thirties and five in the forties. Of these none has shifted more than three times in this century. As might be expected, villages of the Bwilile and Shila

¹ See Table I for distribution of population by chiefdoms. The old figures are from the Kawambwa District Notebook, and I am indebted to the District Commissioner, Kawambwa, for the later Rhodesian figures. The Belgian figures were kindly made available by M. l'Administrateur at Kasenga.

² Richards, *Land Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*, p. 19.

TABLE I

Population of Luapula Valley according to figures made available by British and Belgian Administrations

(a) Northern Rhodesia

Chiefdom	Year	Males	Females	% at work*	Total Pop.
Kazembe . . .	1941	5017	5225	21	10,242
Kambwali . . .	1946	1848	1918	27	3,766
Kanyembo . . .	1941	2489	2517	25	5,006
Lukwesa . . .	1941	3598	3973	22	7,571
Lubunda . . .	1941	2530	2810	30	5,340
Kashiba . . .	1948	2032	1969	24	4,001
Mulundu . . .	1941	1967	1902	18	3,869
Katuta† . . .	1942	1207	1247	33	2,454
Totals		20688	21561	24	42,249
Nshimba‡ . . .	1948	265	238	23	503

(b) Belgian Congo§

Chiefdom	Total 1946	Total 1950
Nkuba	1979	2126
Kashobwe	1664	2252
Kabimbi	926	1187
Nkambo	2593	2803
Kampombwe	1764	2081
Chikungu 	3208	3631
Chisamamba 	4265	7016
Totals	16,399	21,096

* The percentage of taxable males, included in the 'males' column, who at the time of the count were working outside the Luapula Valley.

† Katuta chiefdom is under Kazembe, but it is south of Johnston Falls and outside the scope of this account.

‡ Nshimba is the chief on Kilwa Island, geographically a part of the Luapula Valley, but politically now under Chief Mununga of the Kalungwisi River. The figures for Katuta and Nshimba chiefdoms are excluded from discussion in the text.

§ On the Congo bank there is continuous scattered population from the river to the Kundelungu Hills. The chiefdoms taken into account are those which border on the river.

|| Chikungu and Chisamamba are the chiefdoms in which the town and environs of Kasenga are situated.

tribes, who are associated with land ownership and ritual, move less than others and may remain *in situ* for centuries.

The size, and especially the occurrence, of very large villages, as well as their relative permanence may be connected with the way in which the staple crop, cassava, is cultivated. The land may be used profitably again after a rest of about six years. This contrasts with the twenty-year period of regeneration required in the *citemene* system of the Northern Province.¹ It is thus unnecessary to be continually on the move to fresh ground. On the contrary if a village is moved some distance this means hardship to its members who for two or three years have to make journeys to their old gardens to gather their cassava until the garden cycle of the new site has been established; and it means clearing fresh bush for three or four years instead of having the lighter work of clearing fallows. There are thus advantages in remaining at or near the same place. A chief in assessing the amount of a levy of cassava from a village takes account of this fact, and long-standing villages have to meet greater demands, in proportion to their size, than new villages. Those who cultivate finger-millet by *citemene* are so few by comparison that there is always land of a suitable type available near their villages. Mound cultivation of cassava is predominant and consistent with permanent villages. The fact also that there is plenty of *cipya* land allows people to live in large villages close together instead of being spread out thinly through the bush.

Other Factors in Village Settlement

On the Rhodesian side only about an eighth of the villages lie off the main swamp-margin road which roughly follows the old track of pre-European days. The British Administration has straightened this track by building causeways of matted roots, fastened with poles, across the damboes biting back into the bush. For long stretches this road lies within half a mile of the swamp edge. Villages have gradually moved their sites back from the old path which followed the swamp closely to parallel positions on this road. New villages have been built in the interstices on the road. Of the villages which lie in the tributary valleys to the east, the majority are small. Some of these have been placed by

¹ W. Allan, *Studies in African Land Usage in Northern Rhodesia*, p. 86.

Kazembe or by one of his chiefs in order to guard certain remote parts of the country; for instance, there is one by the royal graves at Lunde, and another is sited by a road bridge and within reach of the grave of an important prince. Some villages are clustered round a former mission station in the Mubende Valley, and others around the present Lufubu mission. In the well-populated Mununshi Valley, the Villages are all of the Chishinga tribe, being offshoots of the village of the Chishinga sub-chief, Kapesa, to whom Kazembe gave the Mununshi Valley as a place to settle in return for military assistance. There remain but a handful of villages which are in the bush of their free choice. The very phrase 'in the bush' (*mu mpanga*) has a derisive note when applied to the dwellingplaces of people. A house isolated from the main group of village dwellings, with uncleared ground about it, is 'in the bush'. Villages sited outside hailing distance of neighbours, and with no well-made road or path to them, are also 'in the bush'. Those who live there without some good reason for doing so are the butt of scorn from others.

To some extent administrative direction has been responsible for the present distribution of villages. The treaty, which ended iron-working, is one example. Again, in 1910 the British, as a measure against sleeping sickness, removed the villagers in the tributary valleys to the main valley floor. The same move emptied the whole valley on the British side from Johnston Falls to the Mununshi. The population was moved north, mainly to the side of Mofwe lagoon, but returned eventually in 1922.¹ Most of the villages are believed then to have returned to their former sites, but at the same time new villages of immigrants were formed in this upper part of the valley. Permission is given freely for a man to form a village on the main road, but, until recently, one who wanted to build in the bush would have to submit a particularly good case to the Administration before being allowed to do so.² It was for administrative reasons that the Shila village of Mumba was moved from its traditional site on Isokwe Island to the main-

¹ The move, which was the cause of much hunger in the land, has been described as unnecessary. Cf. Tilsley, *Dan Crawford of Central Africa*, p. 504. The population on the Belgian side was not moved.

² By Administration I imply the District Commissioner in agreement with the Lunda Native Authority. When I mean the British or Belgian Administration specifically, I make the distinction.

land opposite; and in the Congo, Mwati, who was Owner of the Land of the swamp island bearing his name, was moved to the more accessible island of Chibondo on the Luapula banks. Within the last few years, however, there has been a return to the bush. But this is a new move by co-operative farmers who with full administrative encouragement are developing some of the better black soils by the damboes for the cultivation of rice, bananas and European vegetables.

Not only the British Administration, but also the Native Authority and the people themselves prefer the main road. The Native Authority is genuinely and tirelessly concerned to maintain law and order in its country and can naturally do so best when the villages are easily accessible. The people laugh at the plateau tribes whose villages are scattered thinly over the bush and ask what sort of a society it is where one has to walk many miles to see the neighbours and hear up-to-date news. Villages should be near other villages, as houses of a village should be on the main road with doors facing it, so that a man sitting on his veranda can see and be seen by passers-by, and can greet and welcome them. Living in the bush is a Bemba custom, and Luapula peoples regard the Bemba as being somewhat barbaric still. To live gregariously is to live openly, is to be a part of and interested in current affairs. It is to be at hand for markets, and beside the swirl of economic activities. It is to be modern and progressive, in touch with the developments of the Copperbelt, for regular bus services from there ply up and down the main road. A headman who had taken his uncle's place and moved down from a tributary valley to the swamp edge, said: 'I have been a Boma messenger, how could I possibly live in the bush?' There is a feeling that Luapula life is not rural, backwoods life. Commonly one hears: 'It is the Copperbelt here' (*kuuno ni ku migote*). There is much in this. In the main settlement areas there is a great chain of stores where most goods available in the Copperbelt African markets can be bought; there are stores and tea-rooms with bread and sugar and tea and milk, beer-houses with daily brews, buses, lorries and bicycles, gramophones, guitars and radios. The town of Kazembe with its hotels, dance-halls, beer-houses and prostitutes is cosmopolitan; it is a Paris of pleasure to which playboys from other tribes come to drink and dance at Christmas and New Year; and it attracts specialist artisans from all around. There is great tribal mixture

too. The constant traffic of administrative and missionary vehicles along the road and through the villages adds point to the natives' argument that they are a civilized people in a civilized country. Some eight or ten buses link the valley every week with the Copperbelt, and the Luapula steamer, motor-boats and a number of lorries link it daily with Elisabethville. These transports are regularly filled to capacity. People travel not only to work but in great numbers also to visit relatives, and women are as accustomed to long-distance travel as men are. The feeling of civilization and the value attached to economic development vary from district to district and are most pronounced in Kazembe's capital and two of the other chiefs' capitals—Lukwesa and Kashiba upstream. The ideas have been propagated with success by the Native Authority. A telling incident took place during an Authority debate on the controlled price of cassava meal. The chairman's point that the higher the price the greater was the appearance of progress was the one which carried the day.

The actual distribution of villages may be seen in relation to the lines of communication. It is noticeable that some parts which lie close to excellent fishing water are scantily peopled when compared with some other parts which run along a piece of the swamp which has no open water. The road upon which lorries and buses run most frequently is that which enters the valley from Fort Rosebery at Kashiba, runs down the valley as far as Kazembe, and thence up over the escarpment to Kawambwa. From Kazembe the valley road extends northward round the curving-swamp margin through the district called Mukolo to Mbereshi. The stretch from Kazembe to Mbereshi has gaps between few of its 27 villages, and as already stated, it is only since Kayo lagoon here dried up and the place ceased to be a good fishing area that the development has taken place. With this might be compared the stretch of road that lies along Mofwe lagoon. The road is fairly good but here, north of Mbereshi, it lies off the main stream of valley traffic. The lagoon yields excellent fishing. But there are gaps in the line of villages and most of the villages themselves are small. The capital of Chief Kanyembo here is the smallest capital of the country. In spite of the fishing facilities it lacks easy access to a market, and had no buses and little transport before 1949. It is, in fact, known as 'the side room' (*ku cuba*) as against the main room of the house with the front door. The Kayo stretch has the

advantage of proximity to Kazembe, the hub of the country and the site of Kazembe's court. Here also the best channel, Chipitaluba, leads from the hard land through the swamps to the river, and here too passes much transport to Kawambwa, Fort Rosebery and the Copperbelt. Mofwe is the 'side room' because it neither has ready access to the Congo nor lies on the main stream of traffic. Yet Mofwe is not so bad as living in the bush. Here one is still on a road. If you live on the swamp road you see everyone who is travelling, and if you travel right along this road you pass through nearly 90 per cent of Kazembe's villages.

The inhabitants rationalize their desire for gregarious living. Lions and leopards are no doubt a menace but people exaggerate the dangers that would result from living in the bush. But usually the rationalization is couched in terms of *banyama*. The belief in *banyama* is not confined to this part of Northern Rhodesia. *Banyama* are said to be the African agents of specified local Europeans who roam about at night to kidnap fellow-Africans. The agents take their victims to their European employer who kills them and drinks their blood. Circumstantial details are current about these alleged European cannibals, including their identity, and where and how they devour the Africans. From time to time the Administration has to cope carefully with accusations against their alleged agents, for if a man disappears he is reckoned to be the victim of *banyama*; and suspicion of the agent concerned soon follows. People live close together in protection against wild animals and *banyama*, and give the same reasons for their custom of sitting inside closed houses to chat in the evenings, rather than round a fire in the open, or for not going out alone at night. Africans will allow suspected sorcerers to live among them, but not suspected *banyama*. In view of the role of Europeans in these beliefs they have to be considered as a function of black-white relations; but the beliefs are frequently raised in conversation with reference to village and house siting.

The Influence of Migrant Labour

It seems clear that the ardent adoption of European material goods has had its effect on the distribution of villages. The two most concentrated areas are near Kashiba and near Lukwesa, the former within easy reach of Kasenga, the latter immediately opposite the Congo trading post of Katabulwe and on the river

route to Kasenga. A third such area is Lukanga in the north of the country, whence it is a straightforward paddle to the trading centre of Nkole Island. The other concentrated area is that between Kazembe and Mbereshi, at the centre of the country and within easy reach of the Congo trading post of Chibondo. But it would give the wrong impression to suggest that there was only a one-way traffic of values, from town to country.

After the initial treaty which Sir Alfred Sharpe made with Kazembe in 1890, the country was for a while lightly administered. The first Boma was established at Chiengi in the northern corner of Lake Mweru in 1891, and this was later moved south to the Kalungwisi River in 1892. In 1897 Kazembe showed some resistance and actually repulsed an attack, and there was more fighting before Kazembe finally accepted British protection in 1900. After an initial rejection by Luapula residents of the new way of life offered by Europeans, it soon caught on. During the first years Lunda refused to take jobs with the British and the northern tribes came as camp followers doing government and domestic work for the officials. But already by about 1901 large numbers of Luapula residents were seeking work at the newly opened copper mine at Kambove in the Congo.¹ Tales survive from this period of refusals to pay the tax which started in 1901 at 3s. per house of an able-bodied man; administrators on tour would meet only women and children in villages; the women would take steaming dishes of meal to men in their hiding places in cassava garden and banana grove. By 1910 the Lunda had started travelling far and wide. In that year the late aristocrat MWINEMPANDA was a waiter in a Cape Town hotel, and the man who became Kazembe XVI was working in Port Elizabeth shortly afterwards. Thereafter Luapula residents answered the opportunities for paid labour which opened increasingly in the Congo and Rhodesia, and have contributed notably to the labour force in mine, compound and location on the Copperbelt since 1929.

The Boma figures for absence on labour migration in 1949 (unfortunately the latest available to me) are 23 per cent of taxable males. This compares with corresponding estimates for the Chishinga of 35 per cent. Although not high by other Northern

¹ Harrington, *The Taming of North-Eastern Rhodesia*, p. 19.



PLATE V

The entrepôt of Kasenga. Lorries wait on the Luapula strand to load fish from motorboats for transport to Elisabethville. Across the river is the chiefdom of Kashiba. The swamp is narrow at this point.



PLATE VI

Home from the Copperbelt: a taxi-driver goes fishing.

Rhodesian standards, the absentees still represent a considerable part of the Luapula working population. The attraction of European work is that it alone can assure one of a regular wage (Native Authorities provide very limited scope for regular unskilled employment). The hazards and hard work of fishing are, to many, a poor alternative when it is a question of finding the capital necessary to marry, to set up a store, or to be a net-owner employing young fishermen.

I am indebted to Dr A. L. Epstein for the observation that Luapula people who go to the Copperbelt appear to retain there a more lively interest in their local and customary affairs than do immigrants from many other areas. Epstein had the opportunity of contrasting the Bemba attitude on the visit of Chitimukulu with the Lunda attitude on the visit of Kazembe to Ndola. The reasons are fairly complex, but the latter was notable in that it resulted in a wave of nostalgia; it set the Luapula residents, and particularly some of the more sophisticated urbanites, talking of how desirable a place the Luapula Valley was, and how fine it would be to return there and set up a business. I myself have had letters from educated Luapula people with many years residence on the Copperbelt, giving unsolicited historical detail about Luapula districts or personalities. If it seems that the Luapula approaches Copperbelt conditions, yet the Luapula way of living retains its hold upon those who seek their fortunes abroad.

The valley in fact is a desirable place to live, materially. And the valley is intimately associated with the kingship and the customary way of life. Immigrants who have gone there recently have done so in order to 'follow the country' (*kukonke calo*); the country is not only the land, but also the way of life to be found on it. Men who have sought work abroad need not fear to return home, for opportunity exists there to make money and enjoy the attractions of the Copperbelt in their native surroundings. And men of substance, knowledgeable on native affairs, likewise return to offices of importance. In spite therefore of the great change in material conditions, the interest remains in the kingship, in tribes and lineages, in history, custom, ceremonial and ritual. These aspects of the old society are also contemporary; and the remaining chapters which deal with them concern not fossil but living forms.

TABLE II

Lists of villages in order from north to south in two areas, Mukolo and Kaombe, together with the tribes to which their headmen belong. Both areas are closely settled; I indicate with dots the places where there are short gaps between villages.

(a)		(b)	
<i>The Mukolo district, between Mbereshi and Kazembe</i>		<i>The Kaombe district, between Kaombe and Kawama</i>	
<i>Village</i>	<i>Headman's Tribe</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Headman's Tribe</i>
Kambikambi	Lungu	Lwamfwe	Shila
...Mukamba	Shila	Katwamba	Mukulo
Kamekela	Lungu	Lasalo	Sanga
Mulalami	Lungu	Mwale	Chishinga
...Kanyanta	Tabwa	Tela	Chishinga
Elodi	Lungu	Kambele	Sanga
Kaweme	Lunda	Chifita	Mukulo
Mfwayenda	Lungu	Mukanshi	Tabwa
Simapemba	Lungu	Tondo-Kabunda	Bemba
Senkwe	Mukulo	Mutamina	Mukulo
Mutumbwa	Lunda	Mofati	Chishinga
Lushinga	Tabwa	Chibamba	Sanga
Matipa	Chishinga	Mushishiya	Bukanda
Kombe	Chishinga	Kapala	Shila
Nalile	Lunda		
Katanda	Chishinga		
Kalata	Bukanda		
Matungu	Ng'umbo		
Ndaso	Lunda		
Mpuya	Lunda		
...Chipepa	Lunda		
Nsholo	Lungu		
Kasebula	Lunda		
Chomba	Tabwa		
Chishishila	Lunda		
Kasawo	Lunda		

historians. Not only are such memories fallible, but their owners are human beings enacting structural roles. These roles occupied by the historians are almost invariably unique, in that the custody of the history is vested in the hereditary leader of the group. Thus change could arise in the histories additionally by pressure from the outside or by the individual historian's own desire for added prestige, since the hereditary leader, and custodian of the history, is identified in name and person with all the previous leaders of the group.¹ Whether in fact the histories do change is another

¹ *History on the Luapula*, pp. 5, 33.

and most difficult problem. Europeans have previously published snippets of Luapula history, but here one is up against the question of these Europeans' reliability in recording them in an unfamiliar language during a short stay in the country which was directed primarily towards other ends.

In a social anthropological study the question of the truth or falsity of these histories is not very material. The anthropologist clearly must take historical data into account as far as they are reliable. Thus if it were found that an earlier, thoroughly reliable European source had recorded a lineage history from a man whose descendant had given the anthropologist his lineage history, and these accounts were different, the anthropologist could use the change in the history as data in his analysis of the social processes inside a lineage. But he would still be unable to say what the actual history of the lineage had been. This sort of data is unobtainable for the time-depth with which we are dealing in Luapula and many similar societies. What actually happened matters little unless the people concerned have means of knowing that what they say happened, did happen, or did not. The important thing is this: what the Luapula peoples say now about the past is what they *know* actually happened in the past. Simply to say that they believe it happened in the past is too weak for they do not doubt it. To use Nadel's terms,¹ the natives' histories are to them 'objective', and to the European investigator they are 'ideological'. They might also coincide, to the European, with 'objective' histories if the means were only present to discover the latter.

By history and histories I mean what is said about the past. Histories are used to justify the present political and politico-ritual status quo. There is nothing new in this statement; but the emphasis which the people place on them is so great that no analysis of the society can afford to neglect them. Moreover, not only political relations are involved here: the clearly mythical elements which occur once in nearly every lineage history, besides justifying the present political situation, also make it clear to them

¹ S. F. Nadel, *A Black Byzantium*, p. 72. The description of the role of history in Nupe might well apply to Luapula society, and especially to the Lunda: 'The Nupe are what we may call an historically-minded people. The highest, constantly invoked authority for things existing is, to the Nupe, the account of things past—but an account which is clothed in terms of a sober, pseudo-scientific "history"'; loc. cit.



MAP IV.—Main Settlement of pre-Lunda Groups

groups of another kind towards the upper part of the valley: small groups again, but under chiefs. One of these requires special mention as being the first link in the valley with the Lunda tribe. This is LUBUNDA of the Rat Clan, who is said to have originated in the country of the Lunda chief Mwata Yamvo in the South-Western Katanga, about 400 miles west of Lake Mweru. LUBUNDA in punishment for arson had been told to build a tower to reach the sun. He failed, the tower fell and killed people repeatedly. LUBUNDA finally fled. He travelled east, crossed the Luapula, went right through Chishinga country leaving brothers to rule tracts of land in many places, and finally settled on the Luapula, where today he is a chief under Kazembe.

These small groups lived for the most part in peace, although among the groups of the upper part of the valley certain fights are mentioned. Each group was known by the name of its clan and the *cikolwe* of the lineage concerned: e.g. the Rat Clan of LUBUNDA, and the Clay Clan of KAPONTO. Apart from these two clans there were present as Owners of the Land members of Locust, Calabash, Tortoise and Red Ant clans; and the most important of the other groups under chiefs were of the Rat, Drum, Leopard, Snake and Frog clans. At this time there were no tribal names. The groups on the islands in the swamps lived in villages like present-day fishing camps; they did not cultivate, but ate only fish and water-lily roots.

After some years of this type of settlement, the Bemba came from somewhere in the west, crossed the Luapula far to the south¹ and set up their kingdom on the plateau to the east. A Bemba chief called NKUBA, of the Crocodile Clan to which Chitimukulu the Bemba king belongs, left Bemba country for the same reason as KAPONTO left MATANDA's country. He first sent people to find land where no one was living, so that he might go there himself. What follows forms the subject matter of one of the most crucial episodes of the valley's history. The story is given here in the words of the present NKUBA.

'People of NKUBA threw a doll into the water and Chitimukulu's people demanded a human being in recompense, and NKUBA

¹ I am aware that authorities differ on this, and on Bemba-Lunda relationships generally. See for instance F. Tanguy, *Imilandu ya Babemba*, pp. 14-16. What I give here is the Luapula version.

refused this. NKUBA sent two men to look for a piece of country with no people. They reached the Luapula and found people who had no chiefs and who used ivory as hearthstones. They came to TWITE [an Owner of the Land of the Calabash Clan] and asked for his blessing in hunting. They killed elephant and took ivory to TWITE in tribute. TWITE said: "What is this you bring me? If you want to give me a present, give me meat; we do not eat ivory". The two men then collected all the ivory they had hunted, and set off. Later in their travels they found another Owner of the Land, who also refused ivory as tribute. So they said, 'This is the country of the Bena Bwilile.' They returned to NKUBA and told him they had found a good country to live in, for the people were Bwilile, they were all ignorant and they knew no chiefs.

So NKUBA went westwards to the Luapula with a great number of his 'brothers', 'sisters', and 'sisters' children'. The term Bwilile which was henceforth used to describe the first inhabitants is a constant reminder of the fact that these people were chiefless. The word is from the verb *kwilila*, to eat on one's own. It implies that when meat was killed there was no chief to eat it and no one who knew the custom of giving tribute of ivory; in other words the people lacked the knowledge of what a chief was, his main attribute being a receiver of tribute.

By means of intermarriage and some battles, NKUBA set himself up as chief over the whole of the lower part of the valley and round much of Lake Mweru. He himself settled at Chisenga, the large island on the right bank of the Luapula not far from the lake. He failed to conquer the stronger chieftainships of the upper part of the valley, and the histories record how the boundaries were ritually demarcated after indecisive fighting. A tree was speared on the boundary on the east bank with KAPENA, and the settling of the west-bank boundary was marked by an exchange of bows of chieftainship with NKAMBO.¹ NKUBA sent out relatives who had come with him to be his chiefs over the various territories of the Bwilile, and he could now claim tribute from all the Bwilile in whose lands his chiefs dwelt. The people of NKUBA were in reality Bemba, but on the Luapula they took the name of Shila, and the people whom they found there they called Bwilile.² For con-

¹ For KAPENA's history, see chapter IX, pp. 234 ff.

² The word *Mushila* (pl. *Bashila*) means a member of the Shila tribe, and also a fisherman in other Bemba-speaking areas. It is doubtful which was the

venience in this account I call the period before the arrival of NKUBA 'Bwilile times'; the period between his arrival and that of the Lunda 'Shila times'; and the subsequent period 'Lunda times'.

This was the situation when the Lunda arrived and imposed their rule over the valley. There is fairly good evidence that this took place about 1740.¹ A group of Lunda under the predecessor of Kazembe was sent out by Mwata Yamvo to find LUBUNDA, the Rat Clan chief who had fled.² This eastward migration seems however to have been a part of a general Lunda expansion about this period. Reports from other Lunda areas suggest that expeditions went to the east, south and west from Mwata Yamvo at about the same time.³ It is arguable that they were able to do this by means of their wealth in guns derived from slave and ivory trade with the Portuguese of Angola.⁴ The journey of the Lunda eastwards to the Luapula was triumphant. Guns brought victory in battle.⁵ A characteristic of the journey was the adoption of many chiefs through whose country the expedition passed. These were attracted not only by the guns but also by other signs of Lunda wealth, mainly their cloth; and Lunda say that the very appearance of the chief's regalia and the sound of the royal drums was enough to dazzle them into submission. The more important of these

original use of the word; but Bwilile representatives today say that they were the original bashila (meaning fishermen) and that NKUBA adopted this name as the name of his tribe. The equation of tribal name with occupation is of interest for some features of political organization.

¹ F. J. Pinto, in 'Lacerda's Journey to Cazembe in 1798', p. 126, states that the Lunda had arrived about 60 years previously. I have dealt with the question of nineteenth-century chronology in 'The Reigns of the Kazembes', and I am also indebted to the comment of Mr. G. Clay on that article. For any firm dates given in this account the justification is given in that article.

² Tradition from the Western Lunda suggests other reasons: desire to trade with the Portuguese of Mozambique, and command of the salt marshes lying between the Lualaba and the Luapula. P. Pogge, *Im Reiche des Muata Jamwo*, pp. 225-6.

³ Cf. M. McCulloch, *The Southern Lunda and Related Peoples*, p. 13.

⁴ Although it was the beginning of the nineteenth century before regular direct trade was opened between Mwata Yamvo and the coast (Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life in Western Africa*, vol. II, p. 174) there had previously been much trade undertaken by Bangala middlemen, perhaps since the early seventeenth century: see Plancquaert, *Les Jaga et les Bayaka du Kivango*, p. 78.

⁵ Though Lunda say they did not shoot to kill, only to frighten the enemy into submission with the unfamiliar noise.

chiefs were taken back to Mwata Yamvo to be given insignia of Lundahood and appointed to positions of authority in the hierarchy arising round Kazembe. When the journey was resumed Kazembe, now their leader, brought them to the Luapula. They crossed the river in the country of MATANDA and travelled towards Lake Bangweulu and through Aushi, Bisa and Chishinga country, conquering as they went. Back on the Luapula they missed the bulk of the Shila in the swamps but turned north, then east, claiming that they reached Ngonde country in the present Northern Nyasaland. Wherever they went they left governors in the conquered districts. In these wanderings they took care not to fight the Bemba whom they regarded as relatives of some sort. In Ngonde they thought they had travelled far enough, and returned to the Luapula.

Here occurred another crucial episode in the valley's history. I give it in NKUBA's words.

'NKUBA Nsenshi took the place of NKUBA Kasongomfumu.¹ He lived at Chisenga, and the Lunda came. The Lunda did not know about NKUBA because he lived in the swamps. Now NKUBA killed the son of his sister Nachituti. Nachituti thought that her brother had killed her son, and one day, when she was drinking with him, NKUBA went outside. Nachituti looked under the mat and there was the pelt of her son. She resolved that NKUBA should die. She told some friends she was going to get the Lunda to help her. The Shila told her: "We are living in the sudd here, how will the lion cross it?" Nachituti arose and found the Lunda at Chilange [near the present capital]. She found KALANDALA [a Lunda aristocrat] cutting firewood and he took her to Kazembe who arranged a great audience for her. Nachituti took off her loin cloth and flung it in Kazembe's face² saying "You are a woman! If you are a man prove it by killing the man who has murdered my son". Kazembe agreed, and appointed KALANDALA and KASHINGE [another aristocrat] to avenge her. They crossed to Chisenga, their soldiers with shields striped like zebra skin which they waved up and down, so that the Shila exclaimed: "The zebra are coming". The Lunda

¹ Nsenshi is the fourth recorded holder of the name NKUBA, the first being the one who immigrated from Bemba country.

² Signifying a challenge. It seems to be a widely recognized gesture; cf. Verbeken, *Msiri, Roi du Garenganze*, p. 49.

found that NKUBA had fled. Nachituti said they should remain there because NKUBA had forgotten his pipe and would surely send back for it. They strung a rope across the river and attached a bell to it, so that they could hear if a canoe approached by night. Evening fell, and later they heard the bell ringing *ngelele, ngelele*: the cook had returned for NKUBA's pipe. The cook asked them to spare him: he would show them NKUBA's hiding-place. He took them to Chalalankuba¹ and there they caught NKUBA and his elder brother MULUMBUWA and killed them; but his son Muchinda escaped by diving underneath the sudd. They took the heads to Nachituti and they all returned to Kazembe. Kazembe said: "Now you must pay me"; and Nachituti answered: "How can I pay you? I am a woman, I have nothing". But she filled a basket with earth and a pot with water and gave them to Kazembe saying: "I give you the land and the waters of this country; only you must not leave me because if you do my brothers will surely kill me".

Kazembe called KASHULWE [a Shila chief responsible for appointing the successor to NKUBA] and said that they must find a successor. KASHULWE answered that the successor would be known for he would arrive at the capital dressed in a serval skin and would help thatch Kazembe's new house. Muchinda [the son who had escaped] arrived as had been foretold, and the constables took him to Kazembe. Kazembe told him he was now NKUBA; he told him there were only two chiefs in this country, Kazembe and NKUBA, and that NKUBA was Kazembe's *Mwadi*.²

The Lunda installed the new NKUBA at his old place on Chisenga, which now became known as Kazembe's Storehouse (*Butala bwakwa Kazembe*). The place is rich in fish and game. The Lunda then remained on the Luapula. What is now Kazembe's country was only a small part of the Eastern Lunda Empire of that time. At its greatest expansion, roughly from 1760 to 1860, it stretched from the Lualaba in the west to Chishinga country in the east, from Bisa country in the south to Malungu country in the north. Tribute is said to have come from centres throughout this whole district for some time.

¹ A stream named after the event: literally 'where NKUBA lay in hiding'.

² *Mwadi*, a Lunda word meaning a chief's first wife. Implied in the word is her role as chief's equal and partner in certain rituals for the purification and prosperity of the country.

Over the entire area, but more consistently around Lake Mweru and the Luapula Valley, Kazembe posted local governors to live beside the Bwile and Shila Owners of the Land, in order to ensure a regular supply of tribute, to hold courts, to warn Kazembe of the approach of enemies, and to take up arms in defence of their chief.

Immigrants who arrived after the establishment of this Lunda state were attracted generally for peaceful ends. They came for what the Luapula Valley and the power of Kazembe could offer them. Many members of the Rain Clan, for example, immigrated after the marriage of Kazembe with one of their women probably in the 1840s. They came from Lake Bangweulu. Shortly afterwards a small force of Arabs arrived and installed themselves near the capital.¹ The Arabs thus displaced earlier attempts by Portuguese from the Lower Zambezi whose aim, always frustrated by Kazembe, was to establish a transcontinental trade route, linking Portuguese territories on the east and west coasts.²

The next arrivals were a group of people who were to be the cause of much tumult in this part of Central Africa. These were the Yeke, a branch of the Nyamwezi whose homeland was in the present Tabora Province of Tanganyika.³ Their leader was Msiri. Their aim was to trade copper and other goods from Katanga, the area west of the Luapula. Kazembe reckoned he might profit from

¹ 'The people of the Mweru District appear to have sustained the first Arab invasion about the year 1865, when the Watawa [i.e. Tabwa] were raided with overwhelming force. . . . The Kisinga, Wa-lunda and Wausi [i.e. Chishinga, Lunda, Aushi] alone appear to have been able to withstand in any degree the Arab attacks and depredations': Codrington, *Rept. to B.S.A. Coy. for the Years 1898-1900*. But according to Livingstone, *Last Journals*, p. 278, there had been individual Arab traders at Kazembe since the late 1840's; and Gamitto reported the presence of two 'Moors' at Kazembe in 1831: *O Muata Cazembe*, p. 360.

² The main Portuguese expeditions were those of Lacerda, 1798/9 and of Monteiro and Gamitto, 1831/2 from the east; and of the Pombeiros who were held by Kazembe from 1806-10 on their way from west to east. The diaries of these expeditions hold some excellent anthropological material. See Gamitto, *O Muata Cazembe*; and for translations of the other two, see Burton, *The Lands of Cazembe*. A part of Gamitto's Portuguese account is translated in Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life in Western Africa*, vol. II. An excellent account of the journey of the Pombeiros appears in Verbeke and Walraet, *La Première Traversée du Katanga en 1806*.

³ See especially Verbeke, *Msiri, Roi du Garenganze*.

the trade and allowed them to cross the river. This was about 1856. Msiri installed himself at the place now known as Bunkeya north of the present Jadotville, and some 120 miles west of Johnston Falls. They traded peacefully for some time, but he and his successor gained great wealth and power, and set about conquering the surrounding districts. Perhaps the Luapula peoples would not have been involved in this war had it not been for a struggle for the kingship which arose between three half-brothers, aided by Arabs and Yeke. In terms of the tribal composition of the valley, this had three results. The Yeke set up a chiefdom on the west bank of the Luapula—the still existing chiefdom of Kashobwe on Chibondo Island. Secondly, Kazembe X, who died in 1904, went to the plateau on the east to seek help against the Yeke, and came back with a group of Chishinga, a group of Lungu, and a group of Bemba as warriors, with many other stragglers. Many of these people, after the war was over, remained in the valley and set up villages. Thirdly, Kazembe, in spite of the war in which he was involved, was regarded as the strongest chief in the district and dozens of neighbouring small chiefs and headmen came to seek shelter in his country.¹

The British arrived on the scene from the north-east in the 1890s, under the general direction of Sir Harry Johnston operating from Zomba. The early interest in the area was in stemming the Belgians: 'No Belgian trespass across the Luapula' wrote Johnston to Sir P. Anderson,² but at the same time early dispatches indicate uneasiness, in view of the Company's limited revenue, in biting off more than they could chew. However, occupation and administration went ahead. On the one hand Kazembe received immigrants fleeing from the British in the north; on the other hand when the British reached Kazembe they were followed by numerous Tabwa and Mambwe eager to find work and have the opportunity of buying cloth. Likewise when Dan Crawford urged the London Missionary Society to set up a station in the valley to fend off Roman Catholics who were also approaching,³ the first missionaries brought a considerable group of Mambwe with them who still form a colony at Mbereshi.

¹ Crawford mentions two of these in his diary: see Tilsley, *Dan Crawford of Central Africa*, pp. 274, 399.

² Public Record Office, F.O.2, 54, 272.

³ Tilsley, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

The final incentive to immigration has been the fishing industry and the obvious monetary wealth of Luapula inhabitants. Numbers of personal histories record that the reason for coming to the Luapula was simply to 'follow the country'—*kukonke calo*; the country, as I said, including the way of life it supports, the kingship, the Greeks, the fact that it now approaches Copperbelt conditions more than other rural areas.

The Luapula was made an international boundary. Kazembe's lands were split in two. New administrative chiefdoms were established on the Congo bank. In about 1908, NKUBA, who had

TABLE III

Tribes of headmen in riparian chiefdoms of the Luapula Valley (both banks); a comparison of the situation in 1900 and 1950

Tribe	c. 1900	1950	% c. 1900	% 1950	Difference %*
Chishinga . . .	5	122	7.1	27.1	+20.0
Lunda . . .	31	109	44.3	24.1	-20.2
Lungu . . .	—	43	—	9.8	+9.8
Shila . . .	14	36	20.0	7.7	-12.3
Tabwa . . .	—	31	—	6.9	+6.9
Mukulo . . .	—	14	—	3.1	+3.1
Bukanda . . .	—	14	—	3.1	+3.1
Bwilile . . .	13	11	18.7	2.4	-16.3
Lwashi . . .	3	10	4.3	2.2	-2.1
Bemba . . .	1	8	1.4	1.8	+0.4
Luba . . .	—	7	—	1.6	+1.6
Aushi . . .	—	7	—	1.6	+1.6
Sanga . . .	—	7	—	1.6	+1.6
Lomotwa . . .	1	6	1.4	1.3	-0.1
Yeke . . .	1	4	1.4	0.9	-0.5
Swahili . . .	1	2	1.4	0.4	-1.0
Ng'umbo . . .	—	2	—	0.4	+0.4
Lamba . . .	—	1	—	0.2	+0.2
Bumbu . . .	—	1	—	0.2	+0.2
Malungu . . .	—	1	—	0.2	+0.2
Bwile . . .	—	1	—	0.2	+0.2
Kasongo . . .	—	1	—	0.2	+0.2
? . . .	?	14	?	3.0	?
Totals . . .	70	452	100.0	100.0	—

* Difference between percentage of total in 1900 and 1950. The 1900 figures are from the memories of older informants and cannot be taken as exhaustive. The table is presented mainly to indicate the trends of the more important tribes.

been living at Chisenga, refused to obey certain sleeping sickness regulations imposed by the British Administration. NKUBA's canoes were burnt in retaliation, and he fled across the river. The Belgians later gave him a large chiefdom on the west bank. While Kazembe is Senior Chief of the country on the east bank, NKUBA on the west bank is administratively only the equal of his fellow chiefs.

TABLE IV

Tribal affiliation of headmen, 1950, by chiefdoms

Chief	Kambwali	Kanyembo	Kazembe	Lukwesa	Lubunda	Kachiba	Mulandu*	Kilwa Is.	Chisamamba*	Chitunga	Kanpombwe	Nkambo	Kabimbi	Nkuba and Kashobwe	Totals
Tribe	Northern Rhodesia								Belgian Congo						
Chishinga	—	4	28	19	21	2	8	—	5	7	11	3	9	5	122
Lunda	7	9	17	12	4	20	—	2	10	—	—	9	8	11	109
Lungu	14	10	14	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	43
Shila	6	—	5	3	—	4	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	14	36
Tabwa	1	15	5	2	5	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	31
Mukulo	—	—	3	4	4	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	14
Bukanda	1	—	4	1	4	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	1	—	14
Bwilile	1	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	11
Lwashi	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	2	10
Bemba	1	5	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
Luba	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	7
Aushi	—	1	2	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	7
Sanga	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	7
Lomotwa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	5	6
Yeke	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	4
Swahili	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Ng'umbo	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Lamba	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Bumbu	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Malungu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
Bwile	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Kasongo	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
? . .	—	1	2	1	6	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	1	—	14
Totals	34	45	81	58	51	32	8	5	21	8	12	19	25	53	452

* Excluding the parts of these chiefdoms south of Johnston Falls.

The table classes some headmen who might be considered Bwilile among the tribes to which they are most akin: e.g. relatives of Lubunda, though in the valley from Bwilile times, are classed as Chishinga.

This long series of immigrations of various kinds and from many directions has left its mark on the tribal composition of the society. Table III concerns the tribes to which village headmen belong. I have compared the situation in 1950 with that in 1900 to bring out the more radical changes which have occurred in this century. The total in this table comprises the villages in the riparian chiefdoms of both sides of the valley. The striking fact, apart from the tribal mixture, is the way in which the earliest tribes of the valley, Bwilile, Shila and Lunda, have lost their numerical dominance in favour of Chishinga, and how many new tribes, particularly Lungu and Tabwa, have made their appearance. Table IV breaks down by chiefdoms the 1950 figures. This gives some indication of the way in which tribal affiliation of headmen is distributed throughout the valley.

The temporal build-up of the country, again in terms of villages, is seen from Table V to which reference has already been made. Here I have relevant data only for the east bank villages. A table of this kind is bound to be of questionable reliability since the exact date of foundation of villages was seldom known. Nevertheless the reigns of recent Kazembes are used as datum points with fair accuracy, and thus the villages can be divided by groups into periods of formation. The formation of the village refers not to the building of the village in its present site, but to the existence anywhere in the valley of a village in the name of the headman. I have tried to give an index of the rate of formation of villages in this century by dividing the number of villages formed during a reign by the years of the reign. The table refers only to villages which are extant today: villages do die out from time to time through the unpopularity of headmen, or lack of followers or kinsmen. But from what I could learn villages seldom break. The peak period of village formation, 1919-35, may be associated with the expansion of the Luapula fishing industry. The greatest expansion was in the chiefdom of LUBUNDA and this no doubt has reference to the fact that immigrants were mostly Rat-Clan Chishinga who settled with their fellow-clansman and -tribesman when he was granted an administrative chieftaincy for the first time during this period.

TABLE V

Age of villages on the east bank

Chiefdom	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	?	Total
Kambwali . .	6	1	5	5	3	4	4	6	34
Kanyembo . .	—	4	4	13	3	2	8	11	45
Kazembe* . .	3	4	15	16	12	1	9	11	71
Lukwesa . . .	3	5	7	3	15	13	6	6	58
Lubunda . . .	1	1	3	2	24	5	8	7	51
Kashiba . . .	2	1	2	1	18	—	—	8	32
Mulundu† . .	—	1	—	—	7	—	—	—	8
Totals . . .	15	17	36	40	82	25	35	49	299
Percentage‡ . .	6	6.8	14.4	16	32.8	10	14	—	100.0
Villages per year§	—	—	—	2.7	5.1	4.2	3.5	—	—

The table shows the number of villages, including capitals, still existing in each chiefdom by the periods in which they were first formed:

- Period I Bwile and Shila times.
 II Lunda times up to about 1872.
 III reign of Kazembe X, c. 1872-1904.
 IV reign of Kazembe XI, 1904-19.
 V reign of Kazembe XII, 1919-35.
 VI reign of Kazembe XIII, 1935-41.
 VII reign of Kazembe XIV, 1941-50.

* Excludes ten very small villages in the Mununshi Valley derived recently from one village.

† Excludes villages south of Johnston Falls.

‡ Percentage of total of villages whose times of formation are known.

§ Number of villages formed during recent reigns divided by number of years of each reign.

Tribal Origins

The word which I translate by tribe is *mutundu*. This also means a natural species. Geese and ducks are different *mutundu*, but so also are very similar kinds of duck. Europeans and Africans are different *mutundu*, but so are Bemba and Chishinga. Another word for tribe is *mushyobo*, from a common Bantu root meaning 'kind'.

Unlike the clan, the tribe is not considered to be as old as mankind. It is a dogma that tribes arose in comparatively recent times. Thus, while there are no legends about the origins of clans or clan

names,¹ there do exist accounts of the origins of tribes and tribal names. The story told by NKUBA about the Bwilile and the ivory has already been noted. The Bena Mukulu also have a legend of origin. Young men of the Rat Clan who were living in the Forest of Ng'umbo (Lake Bangweulu) revolted against their elders, for they said the old men did not know how to rule. They had no tribal name at the time, only the name of the Rat Clan. The young men killed the old and ruled in their places. A python wrapped itself around the young man who had become chief. Many offered advice about how to remove it, and magicians were called, but to no avail. One young man had managed to hide his father in the forest. He went to him and told him the difficulty, and his father gave him medicine to get rid of the python. The medicine was applied and it worked. The youth was persuaded to reveal where he had got the medicine, but did so only on condition that the person from whom he got it would be given protection. When the people heard, they agreed that true wisdom lay only with the old men (*bakulu*); and so the father was welcomed back and made chief. Thereafter the people were known as Bena Mukulu.

Tribal names are of different kinds. They may allude to some real or legendary event as in the instance quoted, or to some characteristic. Bwilile and Chishinga are among such. They may refer to a place with which the tribe is particularly associated. Such are Tabwa and Bena Bukanda. Derivation of some names is not clear.

Histories support the dogma that clans preceded tribes. Some of the Rat Clan went to Lake Bangweulu and then become Mukulu. Some of the Leopard Clan went to Itabwa and then became Tabwa.² Earlier migrations were migrations of clansmen, and earlier settlements were settlements of clansmen. But today within any tribe there are representatives, under their leaders, of many clans. If there is truth in the dogma, there must have been some change of circumstances which allowed for

¹ Unusual for the area of the same clan system; see for example Doke, *The Lamhas of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 193 ff. On the other hand there exist histories which include the origin of lineages within the clans.

² This is the local interpretation: place-name precedes tribal name. This, of course, is not proven.

the recognition of a wider unit than the clan or clan section at the time the separate term for this wider unit arose. The term tribe implies the union on a territorial basis of groups of clansmen from different clans. If we take the case of the Bwile, it is clear that although they were composed originally of independent groups, yet to the Shila who named them they had an identity: they all lived in the Luapula swamps; and they knew no chiefs, a fact of significance to the Shila; and moreover they all became subjects of the Shila. Likewise the Lunda when they arrived did not distinguish verbally between the Shila and the Bwile because they both appeared to the Lunda to be living the same life under their one chief, NKUBA. To this day Lunda do not normally distinguish between Shila and Bwile.¹

Shila and Bwile lack a characteristic common to other tribes of the valley: their representatives have no area outside the Luapula Valley with which their tribe is politically associated.² All the other tribes are associated with distant homelands.

The Bemba have Lubemba and its chief Chitimukulu; the Tabwa have Itabwa with its chief Nsama; the Lungu have Bulungu and its chief Kaoma, and so on. For the wide area covered by all these tribes, a rough generalization may be made that residence over a few generations is the key to tribal affiliation. In the past when groups of clansmen had wandered about, and finally settled in the area of some tribe, they became members of that tribe by virtue of having settled in it—if they stayed long enough and chose to call themselves such. I may document this statement with a text from MULUNDU, a chief under Kazembe, and a leader of the Rat Clan.

'When Mupeta, a chief of the Drum Clan died, the people called in another man from elsewhere to take his place. His mother, when they brought him, was afraid, and told the people that if

¹ Gamitto writes of 1832: 'The Shila live on an island in Mofwe lagoon, quite isolated, and have no intercourse with the Cazembes save when they are obliged to appear at court on festive days'; *O Muata Cazembe*, p. 356. None of the earlier expeditions mention the Bwile. The expeditions were nearly all the time confined to the capital where they might not have met Bwile, nor heard about them from the Lunda.

² The Shila now have a political chief on land not originally their own: Mununga of the Kalungwisi. NKUBA retains his links on occasion with his parent tribe of a different name: the Bemba.

her son died because of their homage¹ it would be a bad thing. Many people praised him. Fearing he would grow thin, she decided to call him away. In the middle of the night the chief fled through the bush to his mother, carrying with him a firebrand (*cishinga*). The people saw he had gone, and gave chase, and found him warming himself in the forest before his firebrand. They brought back the firebrand, and the *bali* (the joking clansmen) started to laugh, saying: "Now you are Bena Chishinga." This name went over the whole country. And then when we Rat Clan people came from Lake Bangweulu and lived near the Drum Clan we were called Bena Chishinga too because that was the country of the Bena Chishinga.'

To this generalization, that residence determines tribal affiliation, the Luapula Valley stands as a remarkable exception. Luapula residents, although united under a chief, Kazembe, are not united by a tribal name. For however long the component groups and their ancestors have been settled there, they maintain their own original tribal designation.

Tribal Affiliation

Tribal membership is less important than clan membership to a Luapula resident. It does not affect his daily life and his emotions in the same way as clan membership does. For clan membership includes lineage membership and the most important lineage member is at hand. But tribally, all are displaced persons, refugees to a chosen homeland, and tribal affairs take their own course in the tribal areas from which they or their ancestors came. From this generalization the Lunda and Bwilile and to a great extent the Shila are excluded. Moreover the Bwilile are uninterested in the name Bwilile given to them. They are primarily interested in their clan affiliations. The people otherwise sit in the valley and look out to their tribal areas, as in different contexts they look out to their clan homes.

A few do not claim to belong to any tribe at all. Some others are doubtful what their tribes are. How then do they decide? Is there no rule by which tribal membership can be determined?

¹ The word is *kutotela*, to clap hands to, specifically in homage to a chief. The statement alludes to sorcery. Chiefs are especially open to sorcery born of envy.

Generally speaking, a man says he belongs to his mother's clan. Here he looks for help in various domestic matters. A man's father is indeed the person to whom he first looks, but in the absence of his father, the father's brother feels no responsibility and says: '*Kabiye ku lupwa lobe*'—go and try your own family, the mother's kin. From here there is expectation of help; from father's kin, there is none.

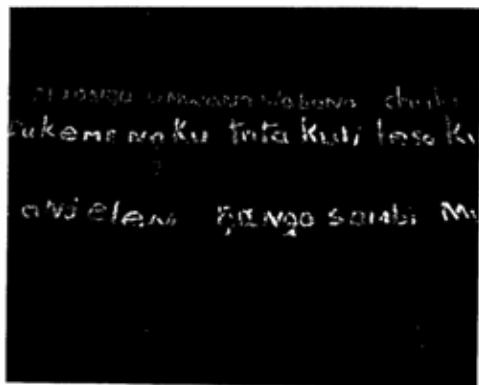
The Rat Clan residents of the Luapula Valley prefer to call themselves simply Bena Mbeba, the Rat Clan, and to leave out tribal identification¹, although by others they are referred to as Chishinga tribesmen. If a section of a clan has wandered far before settling on the Luapula its tribal designation may remain uncertain. One group whose migrations started in Aushi country made sojourns in Chishinga, Lungu and Tabwa country before settling on the Luapula. Are these people Aushi, Chishinga, Lungu, Tabwa or Lunda? They do not know. If they visit the Copperbelt they may claim to be Lunda. I believe some Luapula people there call themselves Bemba in some circumstances, since Cibemba is their language. But in Lunda country, Lunda is the last thing they would claim to be. They stress the fact that their homeland is outside the valley. In the last resort they may appeal to their clan name and say they are of the tribe with which the original clan home or leader is at the present time associated, even though their ancestors had left that area before the tribe had come into existence.

When seen by strangers the tribes within the valley are not all identified with the Lunda. No generally recognized tribal name covers all the inhabitants. In the whole wide area of South-Eastern Katanga and North-Eastern Rhodesia the population of the Luapula seem to be almost alone in being a population under one chief which has not taken on a tribal name. In Tabwa country 'Bena Luapula' may be heard to refer to the whole population; 'Bena Kazembe' is sometimes used by outsiders; but both of these phrases when used within the country have more specialized

¹ Many of these people came from Chishinga country to join the Rat-Clan Chishinga chiefs of Kazembe, MULUNDU, LUBUNDA and farther south KATUTA, at the time of the growth of the fishing industry. One cannot say whether they came to follow these chiefs in virtue of their common clanship or of their common tribe.



(a) Notice outside a carpenter's shop. Mulalami is a village headman near Kazembe.



(b) The top line of the Bemba inscription above a house door announces that the owner is 'Muonga, a son of the Anthill Clan'.

PLATE VII

CLAN AND TRIBAL CONSCIOUSNESS

With those who have no such connections, tribal determination is not at all rigid. A man normally identifies himself with his mother's people but a strong political connection on his father's side may swing him away. The choice of another may be the result of various personal circumstances. Even knowing these, one is not necessarily able to deduce his tribe. An example is a man of the Leopard Clan who claimed to be Chishinga. His mother was of the Leopard Clan and Tabwa by tribe. His father was of the Rain Clan and Chishinga by tribe. He was born in Tabwa country, married a woman of the Mushroom Clan in the Leopard Clan village of KASEBULA, a Lunda living near Kazembe. In spite of the political importance of his clan link with the headman of the village in which he lives, he follows the tribe of his father. In this case his claim of tribe depended neither on normal descent nor on his residence. The only reason he could offer me for his choice was that he loved his father (who died during my stay in the village).

If a man has Lunda ancestry somewhere he may prefer to call himself Lunda. In some cases tribal adherence overrides clan adherence in importance. Lundahood can go in all lines, and it does not matter if a new incumbent of a Lunda name is not strictly of the same clan as his predecessor. Although children of Lunda belong, as in all cases, to the clans of their mothers, yet if a son succeeds his father, he 'forgets' his mother's clan and becomes a full member of his father's clan. Lunda succession and tribalism come in for later discussion.

Tribe and Custom

The foregoing remarks should not be taken to imply that tribal adherence is without all significance. Tribes, and tribal adherence, are of great importance in their own right. Tribal consciousness is evident to the eye: many people paint on their houses their names and the tribes to which they belong. A headman's son, a carpenter, erected a notice in English: 'Mulalami son's shop of Lungu tribe'. In some places villages of the same tribe have sprung up around an original parent village. The Tabwa of Mofwe district all say that they settled on Mofwe 'to be with our brother Tabwa'; since they were coming to the Luapula in any case, they might as well settle with people from their homeland. In the same way Chishinga newcomers have gone in large numbers to settle in the country of

LUBUNDA.¹ Some of the groups of tribesmen keep up active links with their places of origin. Kaoma, a Lungu chief, visited the valley and saw important headmen or descendants who had left his country three or four decades previously. NKUBA, the Shila chief, frequently crosses from the Congo and visits on his bicycle all the Shila headmen of the east bank. He even keeps up his connection with Chitimukulu, whose land his ancestor left some centuries ago; and he caused grave annoyance to Kazembe XIV by taking tribute to the Bemba king rather than to him.

It is in terms of *custom* that tribes are of the greatest significance. Each tribe has a body of customs of its own, which is indivisible, and which is exclusive of the customs of other tribes. There are few customs which are dictated by clan affiliation.

Some Luapula people regard the tribes present in the valley as being either 'Luba' or 'Bemba', the latter being greatly predominant. These are the two broad categories into which their tribes are divided. 'Bemba' here includes tribes which have associations with the Great Plateau of North-Eastern Rhodesia, and which are in their homelands Bemba-speaking. 'Luba' comprises the tribes (except Lunda) whose origin is the Kundelungu Mountains and westward. If one enquires how the Luba differ from the Bemba, the answer is generally in terms of the girls' puberty ceremony (*cisungu*). The Bemba have this custom, the Luba have it in an attenuated degree only. Bemba girls may be secluded for a week or more, Luba girls for just a day. On one occasion I asked why a girl had been secluded for only a very short time. I was told the family must be Luba, although I knew this was not the case. From this, it is clear that customs overlap the boundaries of 'Bemba' and 'Luba'. To a greater extent they overlap what we are calling tribes. There may be minor differences within the 'Bemba' tribes which distinguish the puberty ceremonies of one tribe from those of another; and the same with other customs. This should be clearer after discussion of the word *lutambi*.²

The inhabitants of the Luapula are well acquainted with the tribes present in the valley and know them to differ in many ways: in their tribal histories and ancestries, and their geographical

¹ But see p. 51, n. 1.

² The word is discussed at length in my 'Note on the Lunda Concept of Custom'.

origins. The Shila are to a great extent fishermen, the Lungu finger-millet cultivators, and the Lunda rulers. Moreover, various characters are given to tribes and there seems to be, or to have been, some basis for these descriptions. The Bemba are said to be unsophisticated, and cruel in their punishments; the Lomotwa angry and vengeful, and it is unwise to get involved in suits with them; the Tabwa malevolent sorcerers; and Tabwa country the source of the most dangerous medicines. Some claim to be able to distinguish the Lunda from other tribes by 'the mildness of their faces'. Others say it is possible to make out differences in dialect among the various tribes. I found myself that the *cinlunda* of the capital and other Lunda centres was readily distinguishable from ordinary Bemba.

It is interesting in this regard to contrast tribal characters with those given to clans. Tribes are given the same characteristics over the whole valley; apart from the occupational characters, everyone speaks of Bemba cruelty, Lomotwa vengeance, and Tabwa sorcery. Clans, however, are given local and ephemeral characters, variable from village to village and from year to year, perhaps based on local, temporary experience. Boys of one area may be warned not to marry the girls of a certain clan, in the belief that the whole clan is adulterous. Farther up the valley this clan may have no such reputation and the rumour will be laughed at. But the tribal reputation is constant, and is used as a basis for the behaviour of members of different tribes towards one another. Because of the Lomotwa character, visitors act cannily on the west bank and do not become involved in suits if they can help it. The Lunda lack the dangerous sorcery of the Tabwa and explain that this leaves them in a position to commit adultery at home far more than the Tabwa do; and Lunda visitors to Tabwa country keep clear of Tabwa women for fear of reprisals.

Besides tribal differences, it is believed that there are many elements common to all tribes of men, including Europeans. Certain institutions and traits are held in common by all mankind; certain things must exist where men exist: society would be impossible without these. The clan is one of them; likewise marriage and positional succession are said to be universal, and sorcery is held to be prevalent everywhere.

I translate the word *lutambi* (pl. *ntambi*) as a 'custom'. Marriage, positional succession, and so on, are not in themselves 'customs'

in this sense. For while they are thought to be universal, each society has its own ways of interpreting them, and it is these differential manners, which distinguish one society, one tribe, from another, that are known as *ntambi*. The customs associated with clans, marriage, and so on, vary from people to people; and the complex of customs associated with one tribe constitutes the *ntambi*, the body of custom, of that tribe.

Customs, then, are inseparably linked with the tribes which are said to have practised them, or are said to practise them. But this does not mean that one custom cannot be associated with more than one tribe. On the contrary this is commonly the case. Nor does it exclude the possibility that a member of a tribe may follow customs of a tribe other than his own; but the significant thing is this: if he does so, then he is said to be rejecting his own tribal custom and adopting the custom of another tribe. Thus if a Lunda takes to cultivating finger-millet instead of cassava, which it is the Lunda custom to cultivate, this means he has dropped the Lunda custom and adopted the Lungu custom. If many Lunda were to grow finger-millet this would not become a Lunda custom. It would remain a Lungu custom which the Lunda had adopted. In marriage ceremonies it is now a common feature amongst most of the tribes for the bride, on her wedding eve, to go with the girls of the village to a cassava garden, where they tie bundles of sticks to their backs and crawl with them to the bride's mother's house while older women drive them along with switches.¹ A song is sung at this time: 'Let us crawl, the Bemba brought us the custom of crawling.' Although Lunda practise it, it remains a Bemba custom. Custom is thus closely bound up with the tribe with which it is in the first place associated.

In explaining the way in which tribal customs are exclusive, it is well to distinguish between customs which involve a mystical element and those which do not. The distinction is also one between different kinds of sanctions for the maintenance of customs. The whole body of *ntambi* is watched over by the spirits of the ancestors. If custom is neglected and there is misfortune it is said that the ancestors have brought the misfortune as retribution for the neglect of custom. People talk in this context

¹ Strongly resembling the Bemba custom described in Richards, *Chisungu*, p. 74.



PLATE VIII

"The Bemba brought us the custom of crawling" (p. 72).

of their lineage ancestors (*bacikolwe besu*). Although few people nowadays are in direct contact through prayer or offering with their ancestors, these can still make their presence felt.

Ancestors offer no strong objection to the neglect of customs which have a practical nature. If everyone started to cultivate and eat finger-millet instead of cassava, it is unlikely that misfortunes would be put down to ancestral wrath on account of this. Recent misfortunes, for instance, are not said to have been caused by the fact that the people of today build sun-dried brick houses while their ancestors built huts of mud and sticks. There is no group ready to denounce a man for growing finger-millet. On the other hand matters of domestic ritual are carefully watched over by lineage elders. If a man is left a widower it is they who are responsible for seeing that the proper customs are carried out: the widower's family dare not neglect them in case disaster overtakes it from the ancestors. And the family will not receive a successor from the dead wife's family, for fear of the successor's health, until they have been carried out.

Thus the ancestors of lineages, and their living elders, together see that customs are maintained—yet these customs are specifically associated not with lineages and clans, but with tribes. The same customs are carried out by lineages of different clans if they belong to the same tribe. But lineages of the same clan carry out different customs if they belong to different tribes.

This state of affairs means that customs clash from time to time, if for example groups of two different tribes have to come together to participate in a single ceremony. Yet the situation created is not so difficult as might be expected. There is broad concurrence in the customs of the various tribes, and differences are mostly in details. One custom does commonly cause embarrassment all the same: this is *tobolola*, a payment before the appointment of a successor by the widow or widower to the family of a dead spouse. Some tribes do not have the custom; others insist on payments of up to about £12¹ and the Lomotwa frequently hand over guns or other valuable equipment in payment. In an intertribal marriage payment is made even although it is not the custom of the survivor's tribe: for all tribes are agreed

¹ Generally the more troublesome the survivor has been to the spouse, the higher the payment demanded.

it would be impossible to remarry without first having inherited a spouse from the dead man's family. Therefore usually the easiest way to ensure ritual ability to remarry is to pay and be done with it. But the case sometimes ends as a suit. Kazembe, whose Lunda usually make only small *tobolola* payments, rules in court that payment is not necessary. The affair is seldom brought there.

Otherwise slight differences in custom are easily dealt with. The marriage ceremony offers variations from one tribe to another. A part of the Tabwa ceremony is for the groom, holding a bow and arrow, to come to the bride's mother's house on the eve of the wedding in company with members of his family and to shoot the bride's shadow on the inside wall of the house. Shila do not know this custom. At a wedding of a Tabwa youth with a Shila girl, the groom came ceremoniously in a large company to the bride's mother's house where the bride was sitting in company with the other women. They entered, but the bride's mother told them she would not allow them to shoot the shadow because she did not know the custom. The groom's party simply departed. The bride's party cracked a joke about the funny Tabwa customs. The Tabwa, although they were aware of the manner in which they would be received, yet felt bound to make a token appearance for the sake of *lutambi*. By means such as this, the distinctiveness of tribes in the valley is continuously being reaffirmed.

Customs sanctioned by a mystical force other than that of ancestors require separate consideration. In some cases harmful results are believed to ensue from adopting the customs of others. The custom of the marriage pot is widespread in this region of Central Africa. Every married woman keeps a special pot in which she and her husband wash after intercourse. Different tribes have different rules about the manner in which the pot is made or handed on, but the custom itself is common to all the major tribes of the valley. If stranger men marry Lunda women they adopt this custom of the pot. This can be done because all Africans know the general form of purification, *kusanguhula*. But a story is told of how a European hunter married a Luapula woman and adopted the custom of the pot. The Africans say he went mad because of this.

But the difference lies not only between Europeans and Africans. All Luapula people, to whatever tribe they belong, fear the

mystical results of killing or finding dead in the bush a lion, leopard, or striped weasel. The skin and hunter must be purified before the hunter may speak or eat and before the skin is brought to the village. Flesh and bones should be buried in the bush or burnt; no one eats the flesh of these animals. Failing these precautions the country would be beset with the beasts and the hunter and chief would go mad. Luapula people however acknowledge that in Lubaland Luba eat lion flesh¹ and do not purify themselves, yet come to no harm. That is to say, the alleged mystical effect of killing a lion is different, depending upon who kills it.

Again, not only groups of tribes, but single tribes may be differentiated by special customs which they dare not break because of the supposed mystical effect. On the death of headman KASEBULA, his village had to undergo a special purification. All tribes are agreed that this has to be done. The neighbouring headman through his father is of the same—Leopard—Clan as KASEBULA, and for this reason the two headmen had been particularly friendly. But KASEBULA was Lunda by tribe, and the other headman Lungu. Thus the Leopard Clan elders refused to allow him to purify the village because 'this would be bringing in a Lunguism (*cilungu*)'. Instead, they fetched a magician from a distance who was a Lunda, but of a different clan. They explained they did not know how Lungu medicines would affect the village.

In modern times there is a gradual dying away of some mystical beliefs: among them the efficacy of fishing medicines, and of the marriage pot.² Those who have travelled, and particularly those who through army experience have seen other colonial peoples, have become convinced that this purification is unnecessary; in addition, they now call it a nuisance to have to carry the pot in travelling on bus or bicycle. Members of the younger generation largely either drop the custom or else purify themselves in any pot which is handy. A man comes to harm by neglect of custom, they say, only if he believes in it. If he is convinced he will come

¹ I do not know if the Luba eat lions or not. If they do not, it only goes to strengthen the point.

² There are some changes of emphasis in the incidence of mystical beliefs. Education which instils belief in natural causation perhaps accounts for the diminution of some of the beliefs. But it is inadmissible that sorcery beliefs, for instance, are now less intense than they were. See, for instance, 'The Social Context of Chewa Witch Beliefs' by M. G. Marwick, part 3, p. 229.

to no harm, no harm ensues. This is the explanation of why Luapula do not fear lions.

Thus on the Luapula the tribe is associated with the place to which it belongs and to a body of customs which is peculiar to its own.¹ Most people identify themselves with a tribe but this is not necessary if a man's clan, as among certain sections of the Fipa Clan, is a sufficient title in itself. Moreover a choice of tribe is to a certain extent arbitrary. Although many individuals may be uncertain about their tribes, or merely uninterested, yet the fact of the tribal diversity of the valley is important and is quite a different matter from diversity of clans. A man who comes to the market to barter his catch of fish for a pot of millet beer does not do so consciously as a Shila trading with a Lungu. The actuality may be the opposite: a Lungu trading with a Shila. But the people are well aware that fishing is the work of the Shila and millet cultivation the work of the Lungu and that it is the diversity of tribal origin that has made this particular exchange possible. Without the immigration of Lungu elements, Shila might still be subsisting on waterlily roots and fish. This specialization in the economic field, which is to their benefit for the variety of foodstuffs it offers them, they attribute to the co-existence of many tribes. While the division of labour probably arose in the past on a tribal basis, these specializations are not now carried out only by the tribes associated with them; but the notion of its basis in tribal diversity is maintained and perpetuated by the continual association of trade with custom. Tribal distinctiveness, which in reality is breaking down, has ideally been given status by becoming a myth.

The tribe is discussed above in terms of the use of the word *mutundu* among Kazembe's people. In this respect 'tribe' may be a mistranslation. A recent authoritative statement defines a tribe as 'a politically or socially coherent and autonomous group occupying or claiming a particular territory'.² Later Schapera has (imprecisely) equated it with the political community.³ Accordingly

¹ This does not mean that the body of custom carried out by the representatives of a tribe in the Luapula Valley necessarily agrees with the body of custom that tribe has in its main centre. I have not the data to be able to verify this one way or the other.

² Royal Anthropological Institute, *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (4th edition), p. 66.

³ Schapera, *Government and Politics in Tribal Societies*, e.g. at p. 9: 'although

subjects of Kazembe might be regarded as one tribe. Strangers who settle there, having sought permission from Kazembe or a chief, at once become subject to Kazembe and the Native Authority courts, have to pay the tax and tribute demanded, and attain the right to build and cultivate. But what is unusual is that groups have retained their original tribal designations, and that no common tribal designation has merged. Moreover the immigrant groups have a latent allegiance to their parent tribes outside the valley. In some cases this is not expressed; in others there is occasional passage of tribute and intervisiting; in yet others (Chishinga and to a lesser extent Shila) there is the feeling that there ought to be greater political unity. With the presence of such external bonds, tenuous though they may be, Kazembe's people do not conform to the definition of 'tribe' in which membership 'in the last resort . . . depends essentially upon allegiance to the local chief'.¹

If one takes into consideration the whole area from which the Luapula population is drawn, it can be seen as composed of a number of tribes distinguished by name, territory and allegiance. The exception is the area under Kazembe, which is, like the others, distinct territorially; but is without a common name, and the designatory names used are those of the tribal areas the various inhabitants come from. Kazembe's area thus appears as an irregularity within a wide area through which the usual meaning of 'tribe' is more nearly applicable. Kazembe's people adapt in their own way the tribal nature of the surrounding societies as a statement of their own ethnic heterogeneity.

some groups of Bushmen are usually referred to in the literature as a "tribe" they are not united under a single government, nor do they ever act together.'

¹ Schapera, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

CHAPTER III

THE CLAN

MORE than the tribe, the clan with its effective segment the lineage is of utmost importance to every Luapula resident. But a clan shares with a tribe the character of being in the main external to the Luapula Valley; each man looks out to his clan home as to his tribal home; most of his fellow-clansmen live outside the valley. I intend to show in this chapter and the next how the existing arrangements of domestic kinship give rise to conditions in which lineage and clan are stabilized and can function politically.

Clan Characteristics

The Luapula Valley lies in the middle of a very wide area in which there is a fairly homogeneous clan system. This stretches from the Lualaba in the west, eastwards across Bemba country to the Luangwa, and from Lake Tanganyika in the north to Lala country in the south.¹ Over this area the clan names are either the same or have the same meanings in different languages; the clans are numerous (Luapula clans for instance numbering over forty); there are the same rules of hospitality to fellow-clansmen and joking relationships between pairs of clans. Luapula informants told me that the same clan ancestors were recognized over the area.

Each person belongs to a clan, usually that of his mother. He is called the 'son' of his father's clan, and his father's fellow-clansmen are called his 'fathers'. He is the 'grandson' of his mother's father's clan, his father's mother's clan and his father's father's clan, and members of these clans are his 'grandfathers'. The members of a

¹ Richards, 'Some Types of Family Structure amongst the Central Bantu', p. 221 ff., speaks of the Bemba-Bisa-Lamba group, to which she suggests may be added the Lala, Kaonde, Aushi and Unga, and the Lunda of Kasempa. Similar names of clans and the characteristic matrilineal descent are also to be found among Tabwa, Chishinga, southern group of Lungu, Mukulu, Mukulo, Ambo, Sanga, and (I believe) Lomotwa: from my own information, and see also Whiteley, *Bemba and Related Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, passim, and Grévisse, 'Les Traditions Historiques des Basanga et de leurs Voisins', pp. 64-5.

clan are widely dispersed, and kinship is recognized alike inside and outside the valley. Within the clan are groups of closer kinsmen who undertake certain activities in common, and exchange information among themselves. Within the valley a group of this kind is widely dispersed. A clan as a whole never meets together, and members of a group or sub-group within a clan seldom do. These points will be amplified in due course.

For each Luapula clan (*mukowa*) there exist:

- (1) a clan name
- (2) a clan ancestor
- (3) a clan home
- (4) a clan praise-name
- (5) a joking relationship with one or more other clans
- (6) a set of inherited names
- (7) a set of lineages of almost equivalent depth.

It is also a characteristic that there is in no case a history or a myth accounting for the origin of a clan or for the reason for the clan name.¹ There are no affiliations of a totemic kind.

The clan names are generally the names of natural objects or artifacts. Some names belong to languages other than Bemba. These names may be used in a generic way, as the BaShimba, generally known as the Leopard Clan, is said really to be the Striped Weasel Clan, but most felines are subjoined in it: serval, golden cat and genet (in Bemba *nshimba*) are also associated. But there is a separate Lion Clan (Bena Nkalamo). Likewise the BaKunda, the Hippopotamus Clan, refers also to frogs, since they, too, are land-and-water animals. All birds are assumed under one clan name, Bena Ng'uni, although some say this is really the Honeyguide Clan (in Bemba *luni*—same stem). All fish are associated in the Bena Mpende, although there is a fish called *mpende* (a small *tilapia*) with which some associate it particularly. Other clans include the Rain Clan (Bena Mfula, with which is associated water in other forms: beer, rivers, etc.), the Iron Clan (Bena Mbulo), the Mush Clan (Bena Bwali), the Anthill Clan (Bena Bumba), the Hair Clan (BaShishi), etc. etc.² Apart from

¹ But cf. above, p. 48, n. 1.

² The word *mwina* (pl. *bena*) is commonly used both in clan and tribal designations. It is to be distinguished from *mwine* (pl. *bene*), which may be translated as 'owner' as in *mwine wa mpanga*, Owner of the Land; but the usual qualifications about translating the word 'owner' from Bantu languages apply

purposes of identification, the names as distinct from the groups they signify appear to function only in connection with joking relationships among sets of clans.

Between the Luapula form of joking relationship and that described for two nearby societies¹ there are many similarities. Each clan is in such a relationship with one or more other clans if the clan names are recognized in terms of the system to have some natural association with one another. Members of these clans are at liberty, and in certain circumstances are expected, to joke with each other, banter, curse or slander. The Leopard and Goat clans are paired because leopards eat goats. Mushroom and Anthill clans are paired because mushrooms grow on anthills. Other associations are less obvious. The Mush Clan and the Goat Clan are in joking relationship because men like their meal better with goat flesh. The Elephant Clan and Clay Clan joke together because formerly women made pots by digging out of clay the footprint of an elephant and fashioning it.

The Iron Clan jokes with all clans with animal names because animals are killed by metal spears and bullets. The Anthill Clan jokes also with the Snake Clan and the Grass Clan also, because grass grows tall on anthills and snakes hide there. There is to some extent a clan hierarchy based on joking—but this has no significance outside the joking sphere. The Leopard Clan is superior to the Goat Clan because leopards kill goats. The Iron Clan is

here too. *Mwina*, as nearly as one can translate it, means 'person'. Thus Bena Nkalamo, which I translate as Lion Clan, or Lion clansmen as the case may be, is strictly the Lion people. Of the clan names most are of this form, e.g. Bena Mfula, etc. But others are formed by means of the usual *mu-* (pl. *ba-*) personal prefix as in MuShimba, BaShimba, a Leopard clansman, and Leopard Clan. There is only one form for each clan name, e.g. MuShimba is not an alternative for Mwina Shimba, which has no meaning.

Both forms are used also in tribal designation. Bena Chishinga and Bena Mukulo are the names of tribes, with Mwina Chishinga as a Chishinga tribesman. The Tabwa on the other hand are BaTabwa, the Aushi are BAushi (= BaAushi), sing. MwAushi. While MuLungu means a member of the Calabash Clan, Mwina Lungu means a member of the Lungu tribe. The Lunda tribe is called both BaLunda and Bena Lunda, though the former is often used to imply royals and aristocrats: but for the latter a more common designation is BakaLunda.

¹ See Richards, 'Reciprocal Clan Relationships among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia', and Stefaniszyn, 'Funeral Friendship in Central Africa' (for the Ambo).

superior to all clans except the Rain Clan, because rain rusts iron. The Rain Clan is superior to all others because animals would die without it, one cannot make mush without it, clay will not work without it, and so on.

The relationship is exploited on many occasions. Women working in the fields pass hours in banter. Formal occasions are often prefaced by joking passes between the principals to set everyone in good humour. In contrast to the Bemba however the king is not involved in clan joking.¹ Joking is enjoined at new moon: women and children sitting by their houses yell at their neighbours for the moon to come and eat them up.² These shouts are taken up in crescendo and last some ten minutes before dying away. At mourning ceremonies members of the dead man's joking clan may come to curse the dead, addressing the corpse in such terms as: 'You sorcerer, get up now if you can and eat us up!' They try to touch the corpse; formerly they dug the grave and would refuse to come out until they received a consideration. They are still expected to bring a white cloth for a shroud. While this practice was formerly common, I have only seen joking clansmen at funerals of old conservative men.

Joking superiority and inferiority are expressed in the idiom of sorcery or of chieftainship. Superiors say their inferiors are slaves or subjects,³ inferiors say their superiors are sorcerers. This is the general theme upon which endless variations are made. Among the examples I noted down were:

- LEOPARD: You have no power, you Goats, we are your chiefs.
You are only our subjects, we come and eat you up.
GOAT: Chiefs indeed! You are not our chiefs, you are
sorcerers, that is why you eat us, you get your
strength from sorcery. You are our enemies.

Mushroom and Anthill clansmen, who vie for superiority, said:

- MUSHROOM: You are poor people (*balanda*) because you are the
chair upon which we sit. If men come and want to

¹ Richards, *op. cit.*

² *We mveshi, kalye Bena Mfula*—'You moon, come and eat up the Rain Clan' (or as the case may be).

³ The word *mushya* used in this context has both meanings. Since it is used in apposition to chief, 'subject' is probably the better rendering.

[illegible]

* North of Johnston Falls.

† The total under Kazembe chiefdom includes ten very small villages in the Mununshi Valley derived from a single village.

† Yeke and Swahili claim no clans except those local ones into which they have married.

help themselves to us, they find we are chiefs, and that we are sitting on our throne.

ANTHILL: No, you are our subjects, for you live on our wealth.¹

The joking relationship based on clan names exists between people who know each other well, and operates generally between people of about the same age. The 'funeral friendship' aspect does not appear to be so strong as it was, perhaps since burial is an occasion in which Christianity plays a considerable role.

Theories of joking relationships do not adequately explain the form it takes between members of certain clans on the Luapula. Stefaniszyn disposed of earlier historical explanations on grounds both particular and general.² A more satisfactory general theory put forward by Radcliffe-Brown was shown to be relevant when applied by Fortes to Tallensi material.³ In brief, a situation in which elements of 'consociation' and 'dissociation' are both present, is socially regulated by the establishment of set forms of behaviour between the individuals or groups concerned. The joking relationship is included in the range of these set forms. Unless, as Stefaniszyn claims, the joking arises out of the relationship which might be expected between a man and the person destined to dig his grave, the explanation does not hold for the Luapula. But the mortuary duties are, in any case, now few. Yet the joking aspect flourishes. It has been suggested that since the groups based on kinship among the Ambo and other tribes with the institution are 'small and unstable', the need for extra-kinship alliances is understandable.⁴ The smallness and instability of these groups is, however, difficult to measure and to claim.

I think in any case that for the Luapula the institution has to be

¹ Chiefs 'eat' their subjects by getting tribute from them; subjects 'live on the wealth' of chiefs, who redistribute tribute to them. Sorcerers at work are said (metaphorically) to 'eat' their victims. Finally, men become chiefs only by their use of sorcery, and chiefs are sorcerers *par excellence*.

² Stefaniszyn, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

³ Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, pp. 90 ff., and Fortes, *Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, pp. 92, 95.

⁴ Tew, 'A further Note on Funeral Friendship', p. 123: 'The funeral friendship seems to offer to each individual strong links which extend across the weak kinship groupings'.

seen in another light. For Radcliffe-Brown's theory to hold here it would be necessary that those who joke together were members of groups in this particularly ambivalent situation. Different clans in the same village may perhaps be regarded as being in this position. Granted this, it is relevant to ask why all people of different clans living in the same village do not joke together. For they do not do so: the joking is confined to people of clans whose names are associated together in the system of clan-joking. It is the adventitious way in which the joking-clan partners are established, through the link of the clan name, which rules out any theory of this sort. As it is, people joke with some people, and they do not joke with other people in equivalent social relationships.

Colson saw the institution differently among the Plateau Tonga. Here joking is only one aspect of a many-faceted inter-clan relationship. Joking partners have in addition to mock in public those who transgress certain moral rules, and have a purifying role following the breach of certain taboos. Notwithstanding these additional factors of importance, Colson is unable to state the position in terms less general than that it 'gave to the Tonga added security in a world made up of small opposed groups, a world in which he found himself easily at odds with others and exposed to their vengeance'. This is achieved since to the Tonga the reciprocal relations entailed in a partnership of this kind gave to it something of the nature of kinship: 'a quasi-kinship relationship but one which fits into none of the known categories of kinsmen'; it is so like kinship in fact that in the absence of the appropriate kinsman to take part in a ceremony, etc., a joking partner may fill the role. The institution is 'therefore only one aspect of the wider problem of how people may be organized into groups which may then be effectively related to each other to ensure the well-being of a community'.¹ If we make allowance for the differing circumstances, the institution on the Luapula makes more sense, when viewed similarly.

If the custom on the Luapula is viewed not from the point of view of the individual, but situationally, what emerges is this. There are few villages without a pair of joking partners among its population. Likewise there are few social gatherings at which

¹ Colson, 'Clans and Clan Joking among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia', pp. 53, 56.

one or more pairs of joking partners are not present; and the custom can always be invoked. The partnership is an additional relationship outside the normal run of kinship, political, economic, sex, relationships and so on. It not only permits licence; it is compulsive. It engages, in these situations, not only partners, but by the licence involved it becomes the focus of attention in a gathering. It is a highly efficient ice-breaker. In the respect that it creates a relationship out of nothing, it can clearly have such a function as has been suggested for it among the Tonga. On the Luapula, it may be aligned with other institutions, such as that of perpetual kinship to be described in the next chapter, which widen the range of familiarity which would stem naturally from the day-to-day life of the people.

Other less emphasized special relationships exist between a few sets of clans. The Tree Clan and the Drum Clan, and the clans of two different kinds of mushrooms, are two pairs of which each pair, so it is related, had a common origin. But this is simply a tradition without apparent effect on present-day relationships. Again the Mushroom Clan (Bena Bowa) and the Rain Clan are a pair which are said to have an affinal relationship through a series of intermarriages when both were resident in the Forest of Ng'umbo. Again there is mere acknowledgement that this is the case. Status of clans in the valley depends not on relationships of these kinds but on other factors, of which the most important are connection with chiefship, time of arrival in the valley, and to some extent the numbers of clansmen present in the valley.

Each clan is identified with a clan home (*ntulo*; the same word is used for the source of a river) in which it either originated or grew strong. There are no groups which are truly native to the Luapula Valley for tradition puts elsewhere the origin of all groups present—including even the Bwilile, the Owners of the Land. Each group of fellow-clansmen looks out to its home of origin, where its ancestors came from. There is an idea that the ultimate ancestors of all came from the west, from the district called Kola. This may be connected with the word Angola. Its application is very general, only Lunda pin it down to the ancient capital of Mwata Yamvo. There is a widely spread myth about the building of a tower to reach the sun and the moon. When asked in general terms about the origin of mankind, or rather the different groups

of mankind, people refer to this tower as the place of dispersal.¹ But there is no link to connect Kola with the various homes of the clans.

Each clan has a praise-name. The word is *ilumbo*. The praise-name usually makes reference to the clan home. On the Luapula geographical names, animals, birds, trees and insects are given phrases referring to some of their special characteristics. Some of the shorter ones are regularly used as homeric epithets: e.g. instead of 'Luapula' one hears frequently 'Luapula ntondo', referring to the calm and quiet nature of the river. A reed-hen is *mucimbe mwine pe lungu*, the owner of, or dweller on the swamps. Epithets are also applied to humans; and most of the important personages including Kazembe are remembered by them. When applied to humans, epithets are taken for the most part from praise-names made up by the individuals themselves or given them by others to commemorate some deed or characteristic. Commoners take them while dancing, and many people are regularly known by their 'dance names'. Each clan has a praise-name, which every member knows and which he may utter at beer drinks, or to pass the time of day on a long journey, as an exhortation to his nets while fishing, etc. Formerly the clan praise-name was of some practical value in that it was the way of asking for hospitality in a strange village: the traveller heard uttering it on his entry to a village would be welcomed by his fellow-clansman. It is often now used as an exclamation on hearing of a misfortune. A typical praise-name is that of the Snake Clan: 'I am a descendant of Kapokoso who peopled the country of Ngweleshya in Bukanda.'²

In the way he boasts, a man may identify himself with any of the four clans of which he has real or close membership. Usually this is the mother's clan, but other factors, mainly political and residential, may turn him to any of the other three.

¹ The Lunda version, concerning LUBUNDA (see p. 37), is one of the few which puts the legend in a definite historical setting.

² *Nine wakuwa Kapokoso akeswile Ngweleshya pa Bukanda*. But cf. Grévisse, 'Salines et Saliniers indigènes du Haut-Katanga', p. 18; here he analyses a praise-name of the Tortoise Clan which refers not to the clan home but to the place where his informants (the Mwanshya group) developed. Here I give my informants' views, but I would be prepared to believe that these clan homes and ancestors might refer to the homes and ancestors of clan sections when more data on the wide region is available.

Clan Segmentation

No clan has all its representatives in the Luapula Valley. We do not have the data on surrounding tribes to be able to plot the distribution of the clans exactly. But it can be safely said that the group of uterine kin which comprises one clan is widely spread over a district which today includes the lands of many tribes. There may be pockets of clan members here and there, or they may be fairly evenly distributed over a wide district. All these clan members, wherever they may be, have at least the minimum of obligations to each other which the common name demands: most particularly the obligation of hospitality. But all clan members do not form one undifferentiated group. Within the clan, as I saw it on the Luapula, there are two important degrees of segmentation. The groups concerned I shall call the sub-clan and lineage (standing for matrilineage). It will be clear however that segmentation here means something quite different from its application in properly 'segmentary' societies. These divisions with the Luapula clan appear to be historically connected with movements of bodies or clansmen.

Tradition has it that when the peoples dispersed from the tower in the early days of human society the land was parcelled out into blocks. Each block of land belonged to a clan. It is these areas which are now associated in praise-names with particular clans and are the *ntulo* or clan homes.

The most important man of the clan, the man who founded it, was its *cikolwe*.¹ This word is frequently used and has a variety of meanings. It may mean the man whose sisters' descendants gave rise to the matrilineal clan. It may refer to any man of importance who is remembered in clan history. It may mean the brother whose sisters' descendants constitute a sub-clan or lineage within the clan, or any important historical personage within these groups. It refers also to the living leader of a lineage or to its elders. In the plural 'our *cikolwes*' (*bacikolwe besu* or *fikolwe fyesu*) means simply 'our ancestors'.

A sense of social continuity is implicit in the word. As the next chapter will show in detail, a man's death should be followed by

¹ Another term in less common use is *luntuntwe*, which is restricted to this meaning. *Cikolwe* has a number of wider meanings.

the succession, by another man of his lineage, to his name and social position. Although many names die out in the course of generations, this custom of 'positional succession' ensures that important historical names remain in the clan or lineage. Thus there is always a person who is the living representative of the clan founder, and likewise there is always a person with the same name and social position as the founder of a lineage. The Kapokoso mentioned in the praise-name above was the *cikolwe* of the Snake Clan and from him the clan spread out; and there exists today a man who has inherited the name, Kapokoso, and he is the nominal head of the Snake Clan.

The present influence or control of a clan head over the rest of his clansmen is very slight. But in the native notions about the nature of clans he occupies a significant position. For it is as if he himself were the clan founder, whose name he is known by. He represents the man who founded the clan in the traditional clan home. In the past, groups have broken away from this home and leader to form lineages within the clan, and settle elsewhere. The leaders of these seceding lineages have thus all broken away not only from the same place, but also from the same *persona*; each lineage has split off from a leader of the same name; and the various lineages of one clan, at whatever time they broke away, regard the leader whom they left behind as the ultimate clan ancestor. Thus successive *cikolwes* merge as one. The important consequences of this will be more fully discussed.

I show now the process of clan dispersal and the relationships arising within the clan, taking material from the Leopard Clan by way of exemplification. The following text is one which a leading member of the Leopard Clan in Kazembe got his sister's son, a clerk in Belgian employ, to write for him. It is meant to be a general statement about the Leopard Clan, and shows, among other things, the wide dispersal of clan members.

"The Leopard Clan came to the Luapula before Kazembe did. MAKUNGU, with his brothers Mwaba and Chingamfumu, came from Luba country. They came to a chief called Mumena of the Lion Clan. MAKUNGU had also with him two sisters, Chisamba and Namafunda. When they reached Mumena, MAKUNGU's wife suffered a headache; and then one chief, Lumbwe, whose praise-name is *Lumbwe-Nkongolo kasongosongo wa myuba*, with Mwaba, tried to persuade MAKUNGU to remain behind while they would

go slowly ahead. So Mwaba, and NKAMBO his sister's son, and many other people went ahead. MAKUNGU, where they left him, had a litter made for himself and another smaller one for his wife, who was of the Goat Clan. When they made up on the others, Mwaba and NKAMBO were jealous because they had to go on foot while MAKUNGU and his wife were being carried, so they told him to go on his own way and that they would go in a different direction. So they went off and built a village, while MAKUNGU made towards the Luapula, where he found CHISAMAMBA. CHISAMAMBA was having trouble with his brother Muonga and MAKUNGU helped to kill him. Then MAKUNGU said: "Pay us [in return for assistance], for we are journeying." Chisamamba gave him the country of Kanshiba . . . Kazembe came and found him there.¹ The writer then goes on to list Leopard Clan *cikolwes* in the widely scattered administrative districts of Kasenga, Albertville, Fort Rosebery, Abercorn, Mporokoso, Fife, Kawambwa, Kasama and Kilwa (Belgian Congo) and continues: 'these people are all our family (*lupwa*), we all came together, and as for our tribe, we are Luba-Lunda'. Of these various *cikolwes*, MAKUNGU is regarded as the superior, at least by the Luapula peoples. To the various *cikolwes* who know him he is in the relationship of either 'elder brother' or 'mother's brother'. In this position MAKUNGU is informed about the death of any important clansfellow on the Luapula, but not of the death of any geographically very distant member.

The two degrees of segmentation in the clan which are observed on the Luapula, I am proposing to call *sub-clan* and *lineage*. The sub-clan does not exist in all the clans represented, but the lineage does. There is no local term to designate what I am calling the sub-clan. On the other hand there is a large number of words meaning a lineage. Despite this, they are seldom used. The commonest is *cikota*.² But intra-clan relationships are not usually

¹ For CHISAMAMBA's version of the history, see *History on the Luapula*, pp. 11-12. MAKUNGU now lives at the same place, Kanshiba, in CHISAMAMBA's administrative chiefdom, but MAKUNGU has been Owner of the Land of Kanshiba ever since this episode.

² Pl. *fikota*. Other terms more or less synonymous are *cisaka*, *cibansa*, *cikunda*, *ntundu* and *mpuka*. The last means 'crowd', or 'group'. Words with roots similar to the others mean respectively *female*, *village rest-hut*, *courtyard*, *pigeon-loft* and *tribe*. The connection with implications of residential group and matri-

described in a way which requires the use of any of these words; no one would say 'we are of different lineages of the same clan'. The anthropologist can with difficulty dispense with words to describe units which have important characteristics of their own, and for this reason I have introduced the two terms. The names apply to units which the Luapula peoples do not distinguish at all rigidly. Even the word for clan, *mukowa*, can be made to serve a more restricted use, and the far more general word *lupwa* may mean any of these sections, or clan, or tribe, or Bantu people generally. Explanations are generally in terms of how people behave to each other rather than in terms of how people are related to each other. Time and again I was struck by the repetition of the view that people behave among themselves in a certain way and therefore they are related in a certain way: not that people are related in a certain way and therefore they behave in a certain way. This is true of relationships of wider scale, or political kinship.

The valley population is composed of large groups of people whose ancestors immigrated at various times from various directions. Although some of these waves are designated as groups of tribesmen they usually consisted in fact of groups of clansmen who came as a group from one tribal area. Those, for instance, who came to help in fighting the Yeke were Lungu tribesmen of the Rain and Bushpig clans, Bemba tribesmen of the Crocodile Clan, and Chishinga tribesmen of the Drum Clan. At other times the groups that immigrated had no tribal designation at all. Thus the relations of groups to each other within the valley are not merely those of tribe to tribe or of clan to clan. This is firstly because clan and tribal allegiances cut across one another. Also, just before or soon after its arrival in the valley there may have been segmentation of a clan group. Again, groups of the same clan have migrated to the valley from different tribal areas and at widely differing times, having become different segments of the same clan long before the time of their arrival in the valley. These different groups of the same clan express their relationship thus not only in terms of their differing immediate ancestry but also, and more

lineal descent seems indicated, but as Dr. J. C. Sharman has pointed out to me this cannot be proved without making tonal comparisons of the different words.

significantly to them, in the way they behave to each other, and in the histories of immigration each one has. They may also, if they come from different tribal areas, have different sets of customs.

The Leopard Clan sections in the valley are those of MAKUNGU and NKAMBO (who both figure above, p. 74) and of KASEBULA. Except for those members working as labour migrants in the towns, most members of these lineages are present in the valley. There are present also representatives of the lineage of Mununga, who is the chief, appointed by the British Administration, of the Shila on the Kalungwisi River to the north of Kazembe country; and of Nsama, who is chief of the Tabwa to the north-east of Mununga.

The earlier text showed how the group of NKAMBO split off from the group of MAKUNGU before their immigration. NKAMBO's history repeats the story with a few changes of detail. They arrived in the valley independently of each other but MAKUNGU being 'mother's brother' to NKAMBO is regarded as the senior. They are installed now in villages which lie some forty miles apart on the west bank; both of them are Owners of the Land, and NKAMBO is in addition an Administrative chief under the Belgians. In course of time, probably after at least a hundred years and after the arrival of Kazembe, MAKUNGU sent a woman to be wife to Kazembe at his capital some ninety miles downstream on the Rhodesian side. This woman bore no children to the king and afterwards left his palace under a stigma of sorcery. She married elsewhere and one of her children was KASEBULA. KASEBULA attained prominence by becoming the first gravekeeper to the grave of Kazembe VII (who received Livingstone in 1867 and died in 1868); he and other descendants of his mother form the present Leopard Clan lineage of KASEBULA.

Leopard Clansmen of the section of Nsama are fairly numerous in the valley. Many Tabwa came with the British advance from the north and settled in Kazembe's country, and most of these belonged to the Leopard Clan.¹ But Nsama does not have the close historical connections with MAKUNGU that NKAMBO and

¹ I was told often that all Tabwa belonged to the Leopard Clan; associations of this kind are made often—the linking of a tribe with the clan to which its chief belongs. Thus similarly the Aushi are said to be of the Goat Clan; in the same way villagers are associated with the clan of their headman.

KASEBULA have. There is no record of his break-away; all we are told is that whereas MAKUNGU approached the Luapula by the south of Lake Mweru, Nsama approached Tabwa country by the north. These Leopard Clansmen of Nsama who have latterly come to the Luapula are clearly 'different' from those of the other three groups. Thus although KASEBULA's people were able to list all the Leopard Clan headmen belonging to the sections of NKAMBO and MAKUNGU they were unable to do so for the section of Nsama.

Here, then, are four sections of one clan represented, all born of different historical conditions. Nsama broke away from the parent stem; there is no record of his departure and he took a different route. NKAMBO broke away on the journey to the Luapula according to the history given above. KASEBULA is of more recent origin and his section was formed after a move within the valley. I have stressed the historical background to the status of these sections because it is given as a rationale for the different relationships between different clan sections. I pointed to the lack of words to define rigidly these groups. The relationship is usually expressed by saying 'we know one another' or 'we do not know one another' and they know or do not know each other because they came together or separately, or because they now live near or far off.

Of the Leopard Clan sections on the Luapula, the four mentioned are all lineages, while those of MAKUNGU, NKAMBO and KASEBULA together form one sub-clan. The four groups 'know each other' and 'do not know each other' in different ways. These behavioural criteria can be broken down into four aspects. The criteria are whether or not they listen to each other's cases, whether or not they mourn for each other, whether or not they inherit and whether or not they marry across the groups' boundaries.¹

As such, the clan is not exogamous. Those familiar with the Luapula should note that when it is said, as it often is, that 'we like to marry within the clan' this refers to the father's and not the mother's clan. Paternal cross-cousin marriage is favoured because it is well known that conciliation in case of difficulties is readily obtainable at a family gathering, and such a means of conciliation

¹ These are used by the people themselves as indices of relationship; the words used are respectively *kuumfwana*, *kulilana*, *kupyanana*, and *kuupana*, the reciprocal forms of words meaning to listen to, to mourn for, to inherit, and to marry.

is more favoured than a court. It is a case of marrying into a 'reliable' family. A man may not marry a woman of his mother's clan unless 'they do not know each other'. That is, a man may not marry anyone he *calls* his sister, i.e. a full or half-sister and a parallel, or classificatory parallel cousin. Strictly this ought to apply to any member of the clan of about the same age, for if connecting relationship links cannot be traced sibblingship in a clan goes by age. Nevertheless in this matter it is not so much the term sister, as the brother-sister relationship that counts. Thus if a man has been brought up to treat a girl as his sister he may not marry her. If he has been brought up in the knowledge that she is his parallel cousin, even although he has not met her the brother-sister relationship is expected of them when they do meet and so he may not marry her. But if a man should want to marry a stranger and it is found eventually that she is of the same clan, he may marry her; but he makes to her parents the slight extra payment of *cisambamukowa*, 'the money to wash out the clan'. They had not behaved, or expected to behave, in the brother-sister relationship and their mothers had not known they were 'sisters' to one another. The payment is made at the public declaration of the clans of both parties which takes place during the course of the wedding.

Although I was not able to get a clear statement, I think that clan members belonging to different sub-clans, so long as they have not known one another from childhood, would have little difficulty in marrying. Certainly there would be little difficulty in marrying a clanswoman resident in a different tribal area. But marriage within the lineage is out of the question.

For the other criteria of relationship I draw on data from the Leopard Clan of KASEBULA. In 1949 the holder of the name KASEBULA died.¹ This event set into motion many activities, and among them the following. KASEBULA is headman of a village about a mile north of Kazembe, and is not only the *ikolwe* of his lineage, but also hereditary gravekeeper to Kazembe VII. The two next senior members of the lineage live in the capital of Kazembe. It was they who came to the village to order the affairs of the death. They sent letters with intimation of the death to the following: to

¹ At his death I was absent from the field but returned in time to witness the final discussions about the succession, during which most of the information given in this section was mentioned.

MAKUNGU, to NKAMBO (the heads of the two other lineages of the sub-clan); to Mununga (the Shila chief on the Kalungwisi who is known to be closely related to KASEBULA's section but whose actual relationship is not certain); to Kambwali (chief of the northernmost chiefdom in Kazembe's country, a prince, whose mother was of KASEBULA's section); and to MUKANSO (claimed to be of the same section, now a village headman twenty miles to the north, and head of all the royal gravekeepers). Kazembe himself was informed, and other letters were sent to lineage members living at a distance, for instance on the Copperbelt. Leopard Clansmen of the section of Nsama were not informed, although living close by, and they did not attend the mourning except for one who was resident in the village.

MAKUNGU, *fons et origo* of KASEBULA, replied that he was too old to make the 90-mile journey. He sent no representative, but in a letter gave exhortation that a successor should be found to the name.

NKAMBO, twenty miles away over the river, was ill at the time but sent representatives to the mourning. He offered no advice about the succession.

Chief Kambwali sent a white cloth as a shroud.

MUKANSO came twenty miles to the mourning, but offered no comment on the succession. He came at inconvenience to himself for a man was about to die in his own village at a time when he should have been present to purify it.

Chief Mununga wrote a letter claiming that he was the only Leopard Clan political chief in the neighbourhood, and it was his right to direct the succession. This letter incensed KASEBULA's people, who wrote back saying that it was not his place to offer advice, that he was only claiming the privilege because the Europeans recognized him as a chief now, and that he had never before had a hand in the succession to the position of KASEBULA.

Here is seen operating, apart from kinship in its various degrees, a number of other factors determining the relationships of sections within the clan. In the first place, sections closely related may be divided by distance: MAKUNGU did not even send a representative.¹ On the other hand neighbouring Leopard Clansmen were not

¹ But a year later MAKUNGU, at the age of at least 90, himself made the journey to Kazembe to see the installation of Kazembe XV.

informed officially and did not turn up to the mourning if they were structurally too distant: in this case if they were members of Nsama's section. Secondly, historical chance may play its part. Leopard Clansmen of KASEBULA say their connection with NKAMBO has been intimate only since KASEBULA fled there when the British bombarded the capital. In this extremity they had used their kinsman with whom they had previously not kept a close connection. Thirdly, the fact of political connections may be added to links of kinship. MUKANSO, who has a small clan section of his own, was informed because he is, apart from being a Leopard Clansman, the chief gravekeeper, while KASEBULA is a lesser one. On the other hand Mununga proffered his advice because in his own words he was the only Leopard Clansman on the British side of the river and lake with the added status of being recognized by the British as chief.

The interrelations of Luapula clan sections are not dictated by kinship alone. Some clans show greater cohesion than others. I compare the Snake Clan with the Rain Clan. The Snake Clan lineages of KAPALE, who came in Bwilele times and of MUKANGE, who came with the Lunda, are in continual intercourse, and yet their centres are thirty miles apart; and by the difference in their times of arrival they might be thought of as different sub-clans. On the other hand the Rain Clan position shows the opposite: the section of MALAKATA and that of MULALAMI, although they live intermingled, do not inform one another of deaths in their respective groups. It should be stressed that distance is not such an obstacle as it used to be. Roads are built, and there is less cause for fear in wandering abroad. Villages are mostly on the trunk line of communication. The capital with its appeal court is in a real sense the centre of the country and an important meeting place.

I have been emphasizing in this section that kinship considerations in the organization of sections within a clan, although imperative, yet play a minor role. Geographical proximity and whether groups 'get along together' are equally important. The actual grouping in sub-clans and lineages seems to be a result of the interaction of a necessary degree of kinship with other factors of a broadly political nature.

The sub-clan may be roughly defined as a unit made of sections of a clan whose leaders keep in touch with each other and within which intermarriage does not occur. A lineage is a section of a clan

which is regarded by a clansman as being the unit within which his successor will be sought after he dies. This is also the unit which has a leader who is the incumbent of the name and position of the man who founded it. It is the leader and elders of a lineage who are in charge of matters of succession within it and who, with this end in view, know its genealogy. The lineage is the largest section of a clan whose comprehensive genealogy is known to any one person.¹ The sub-clan is dispersed. Each component lineage is also dispersed but may be said to have a centre (*cifulo*). The lineage centre is where its leader lives and where for convenience of discussion some of its elders are at hand. The centre is where members of a lineage involved in an affair of the lineage meet for discussion. This may be the village of which its *cikolwe* is headman, if indeed he has a village. Nevertheless although the lineage has a vague centre of this kind, it is in no way tied to land. Even those who form its centre may be scattered through a number of neighbouring villages.

The existence of named sections of clans like the Luapula lineage is attested for in South-Eastern Katanga, but elsewhere over the area in which the Luapula clans are spread such divisions have not been widely recognized.² Grévisse points out that 'the important group called *kisaka* is currently translated by "clan"'.³ But this group, as it is known in South-Eastern Katanga, appears to have greater local significance than the *cikota* (= *cisaka*) of the Luapula;⁴ and Grévisse finds certain land rights attached to the

¹ The genealogy on p. 107 is a composite of three which I collected separately.

² Stefaniszyn refers to a 'closely related clan segment (*cikoto*) comprising all matrilineal descendants of an ancestress to the third or fourth generation, who mostly live together in the village which it regards as its own ancestral seat, or home village (*cifulo*)'; and 'every village belongs to a clan segment (*cikoto*)': 'Funeral Friendship in Central Africa', pp. 294-5. The Bemba 'matrilineal group' does not appear to be so deep and as I read it the apex is a living person: *Land Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 114-17.

³ Grévisse, 'Notes ethnologiques relatives à quelques populations autochtones du Haut-Katanga industriel', *Bulletin du CÉPSI*, xxxv, p. 97.

⁴ Loc. cit.: 'Le *kisaka*, fraction localisée d'un *mukoka* [= *mukowa*] est un groupe dont font parties, suivant que la filiation est patri- ou matrilineale, tous ceux qui sont issus d'un même ascendant, masculin ou féminin, par la voie masculine ou utérine.' Grévisse goes on, as I do later, to impute to this group political functions.

group. I would hazard that the position on the Luapula in Bwilile times included rights of the kind he describes; and that these are still to be found in those Congo chiefdoms of the Luapula Valley where the Owner of the Land became its political chief under European administration. For the other parts of the area concerned, there is not enough evidence to assert or deny the existence of lineages of the *cisaka* type. The Luapula form of lineage may or may not be widely spread, and the matter requires investigation.

CHAPTER IV

THE LINEAGE

IN carrying downward the analysis of the clan I break the continuity to introduce and explain a set of institutions upon which the form of the lineage depends. These institutions, of positional succession and perpetual kinship, will bring out the very close contact that domestic kinship has with the large-scale arrangement of groups. I am not saying that the clan, or clanship, is the kinship system writ large; nor on the other hand claiming a clean division between domestic and wider kinship. I have argued elsewhere¹ that group relations established through these two institutions lie analytically between the system of domestic kinship and the political system; between the organizations of family and lineage, in which interpersonal relations obtain, and the strictly political organization in which the classical elements of political life exist: sovereignty, the disposal of force, and so on. What among the stateless Nuer, for instance, is the function of the lineage system, is in this state divided between the very different kind of lineage organization and the administrative organization of the kingship. The theoretical importance lies in the definitive role that a lineage organization has to play in the political life of a state side by side with the kingship and other specifically political institutions.

Names

The basis of lineage organization and the means of the stability of the lineage reside in the form of succession and the kinship terminology. I therefore start this part of my account by considering the names which are inherited. It is believed that a child is 'made' by its father and simply nourished by its mother.² Intercourse should proceed normally for a few months after conception, for in this way the father continues to 'strengthen' the child. Even if the child is conceived in adultery, the husband through subsequent intercourse 'makes' more of the child than the lover

¹ In 'Perpetual Kinship: a Political Institution of the Luapula Peoples'.

² The closely related Bemba appear to have a different dogma: cf. Richards, 'Some Types of Family Structure amongst the Central Bantu', p. 222.

and so is considered to be its genitor. But in spite of these biological views a child gets a name from either mother's or father's side, and is ascribed to its mother's clan. When the child is born, the parents themselves choose a name for it. The name should be that of a deceased senior member of the bilateral family (*lupwa*) of either parent. The spirit (*mupashi*) of this deceased relative resides in the body of the new-born child. But this does not prevent two or more children being born to the same spirit; nor does it prevent the spirit from working evil towards its descendants if it has died with a grudge (*cikonko*)—for example if its original embodiment had committed suicide. If the father should die during the wife's pregnancy, the child is called by its father's name (any name is applicable to both male and female). Otherwise there is no rule regarding the side from which the name should be taken. Formerly the name was selected by divination. This custom has now fallen into disuse with the banning of diviners by the British Administration. But if the child is ailing when young, it means that the wrong spirit has been chosen and another name is given. The name given to the child in infancy is called the 'spirit name', *ishina lya mupashi*.

The child is in no way affected in its future life by the side from which its name is taken. A man with a spirit name associated with one clan can fill an office in another clan. This method of naming stresses the equality in the domestic situation of maternal and paternal families; and this is in contrast to the unilineal basis of the wider kinship arrangements. Children of a divorced woman are not bound to her, for example: they live now with their mother, now with their father, according to their inclinations: 'the young of the hippopotamus feeds on either side of the river'.¹ In other times this situation was formalized in ancestor worship which today is virtually not practised. Small spirit huts were built outside the houses of most seniors, and dedicated to the spirits of recent ancestors of either side, and these ancestors could bless any descendant, and even spouses of descendants. But it is the same even now with the harm that spirits can bring. If a man died with a grudge through being neglected in his old age his spirit could cause misfortune to any descendant through males or females. The most effective blessing or cursing is supposed to come from the

¹ *Kana ka mfubu kalile shilya libili.*

father's side. At some time during his life a man is blessed by his father who holds his shoulder and spits saliva on the ground (*kupala mate*); and a man lives in fear of the curse of his father's sister which is regarded as being by far the most effective.¹

Spirit names are used arbitrarily for males and females. There are no special masculine or feminine names. Even a female teknonymous name may become the spirit name of a man, who would thus be addressed in the form 'Mother of So-and-so'; but usually the name given is one that was last held by a person of the same sex. In some lines certain names are very common indeed, and one may guess a man's connections from his name. This is particularly so for the Lunda: in the line of MWINEMPANDA there is a family of four siblings all called Muyembe; among other Lunda related to Kazembe the names of Ilunga, Chinyanta, Lukwesa and Muonga and other names of Kazembes recur frequently.

The spirit name is only the first of a number of names each person takes in the course of his life. Since most names are so common, another name may be tacked on for identification: the father's, or less often the mother's, although with the Lunda the mother's name is regularly used. A wife may add the name of her husband and be known as Muka-, wife of, followed by her husband's name. But often the distinguishing name is one a person takes to himself. In the old days most youths adopted 'dance names' (above, p. 71) or some other name connected with a praise-name they had given themselves. Now a quasi-European 'Christian name' usually takes the place of this (*ishina lya buKlistu*). This is a Bemba adaptation of a name from the Bible, or some name of a European employer or acquaintance. After the birth of children teknonymy is the rule. A man may be called Si- and a woman Na- followed by the name of any of their children. Generally one designation sticks for a month or two then another takes its place. An exception is that parents of twins are nearly always addressed as Si- or Na-mpundu.

It may be that a man inherits the name of a dead person. In this case he is usually known by the name he has inherited, especially

¹ For example, 'You child, you have no respect for your elders, you will never settle down, you are a hawk forever soaring about in the smoke of the village.' It is the presence rather than the absence of strong ties which makes for the effectiveness of a curse: the curse is issued despite the existence of these ties; hence only in extremity.

if the name was a famous one or if he continues to live with the surviving spouse. The name given to him at succession or the name he adopts may be any of the names by which the deceased was known and not necessarily the spirit name of the deceased. But here again an important inherited name usually sticks at the expense of other names the deceased had used.

The Need for a Successor

If a child, man or woman, dies, his or her name is inherited by a relative, usually of the same sex. The name is inherited along with the kinship relationships and the status position within the lineage which had belonged to the deceased. The successor takes the wives or husband, and some outward token of the dead person's identity such as belt (for a man) or beads (for a woman). To succeed in this way is *kupyanika*; but the normal expression is *kutolo mushingo*, to take up the belt.¹

There are exceptions to the rule that a name is inherited. Children of up to about the age of six are *malaika*² and if they die before they are properly men (*bantu*) they are not succeeded. If a child dies before he is a man, this is not necessarily due to sorcery. In this way the deaths of the very old (*bakote*) and the very young are considered to be 'deaths from God' (*mfiwa yakwa Lesa*). They are neither surprising nor unexpected. Secondly a woman's first child (*ibeli*) if unmarried is not succeeded.³ Thirdly it sometimes happens that people who die in old age leaving no spouse are not succeeded.

¹ Cf. Richards, 'The Bemba of North-Eastern Rhodesia', pp. 174 f. Other expressions used are:

kwikala pa mafupa, to sit on the bones of

kutole shina, to take the name of

kutole cifulo, to take the place of

kutole cipuna, to take the stool of

kutole fiko, to take the body-dirt of

kwingila muli buKantwa, to enter the 'office' of: the prefix *bu-* gives a word an abstract quality, as *buKazembe* may be translated as the Kazembeship.

² *Malaika* is an importation. An English-speaking Lunda told me he thought it meant 'angel', which in fact it means in Arabic.

³ This is not the only custom peculiar to first-born children. They are carried to the grave on a man's back and not on the usual bedstead; they are buried wrapped in banana leaves; there is no lamentation at the mourning of a first-born child and the mourning itself is short and ill-attended.

On the other hand married people must be succeeded. The sanction for this is mystical. The death of a man¹ brings certain mystical repercussions to the members of the village where the death has taken place. For the surviving spouse there is a special ritual. She is in a 'taboo'd' state and there follows a series of rites to restore her to a normal condition. Some of these take place soon after the death but the process is not complete until she has obtained a successor to her husband. The whole course of regaining normality is known as *kushilaushya*, to remove the state of taboo (*mushilo*).²

At the funeral the widow is led round the grave, or round the bier before it is taken to the grave, by a member of her husband's lineage who then gives her a slap on the back. This is said to safeguard her, should someone of another lineage make sexual approaches to her before she has been given a successor by her husband's lineage.

On the day after the funeral, the widow is given polenta to eat in the ceremony of *kusumino bwali*. Her husband's family do not themselves give the polenta for if the widow should fall ill they would be accused either of having put bad medicine into it, or of having given polenta which was not properly 'hot'. They demand payment for allowing the rite to take place. It is done thus: a woman of the widow's clan sleeps with her husband and first thing in the morning stirs some meal. Up to this time the widow has eaten only 'cold' polenta, prepared without salt by an old woman without a husband. The 'hot' polenta is brought to the widow's house where she eats it before witnesses. After this she is free to eat in the ordinary way. Relish may be cooked at the same time but usually a fowl's feather is burned and held in front of her nose to remove the taboo on eating relish.

The same morning the door of her house is pulled down. The widow sits on it while a woman of her own clan takes a razor and shaves a few hairs off her temple. A woman has to do this for a man might touch her accidentally. It was once taboo to have one's

¹ To simplify exposition I describe what occurs on the death of a male. It is almost the same for women.

² *Mushilo* is a word with many nuances. It is *mushilo* to act in a certain way; a thing has *mushilo* when it has to be treated in a certain way; a person has *mushilo* when he has to act ritually in a certain way.

hair cut between the death of a spouse and succession of another; likewise it was forbidden to wash. In this way a successor was able to 'take the body-dirt' of the dead man from the widow's body. This rite now takes place much sooner after the death because missions and government have discouraged the taboo on washing.

Later the widow and her husband's family take hoes to her garden and dig for a short time in the ground. This allows the widow thereafter to dig up cassava. Again she is taken to a stream and splashed with water by members of her husband's family to end the taboo on washing; and finally she is shown how to make a bed, again by members of her husband's family; this ends the taboo against sleeping on the same bed as another person of her own sex. All this is done within a day or two of the death. There remains the prohibition on sexual intercourse until a successor is given by her husband's family.

These rites are enacted only on the first occasion that a woman has been left a widow (*kufwilwa*). People say that it ought to be done on each occasion, but that they do not do so in practice. The sex taboo however is always rigidly enjoined.

The breaking of the sex taboo causes serious repercussions. Widows, who remain in their dead husbands' houses, fear to go out of sight of the family of the deceased in case suspicion should be aroused against them. The market, a great place for flirting, is virtually out of bounds to a widow. If a widow is careless in this matter she will bring the disease of *cito* upon the family of the deceased. This disease is only one of many which are said to be a direct result of a transgression of the sexual code. It is most serious and the expression *kuposele mfwa*, to bring death upon, is sometimes used to describe adultery in these circumstances. The retribution can take various forms. In the words of an informant: 'A man sleeps with a girl whose husband has died. He does not tell his elders about this and he does not find medicine to make it all right. The dead husband comes to this man in a dream and troubles him. And when the relatives of the man who died find out that the widow has committed adultery, they must wash in medicine before a successor is found. And when they wash in medicine, the man who slept with the widow becomes sick.'

It is the same when a man is left a widower. A text and the account of a suit will show the sort of dangers inherent in not treating the matter of succession and its taboos with respect. The

deceased's family is obliged, because of the same fear of sickness, to find a successor. 'A man's wife dies, and the family of the dead girl refuses to give another girl in her place. The man arises and goes and finds a girl anywhere and sleeps with her. That girl does not become ill, but the spirit of the girl who died travels about with her in her dreams. The spirit says to the girl: "You have slept with my husband". Then the man goes back to the parents of the dead girl and eats with them, then these parents are stricken with swellings, because the man by eating with them has brought *cito* upon them. They got it because they are unaware the man has slept with another girl. But the man has done this of his own volition because his dead wife's family have refused him a successor. If this man is still refused a successor and he marries again, the new wife cannot live peacefully because the girl who dies travels about with her old husband and comes to his new wife and says: "You have succeeded me and yet you are not of my clan, you must die."'

The matter is a frequent subject of suits in court. Wide ramifications ensue from the breach of rules as in the case of Mwansa which follows.¹ It occurred in 1949.

Mwansa had three wives, one of whom had died shortly before the case opened; and he had not yet been given a successor. The case was brought by the parents of a girl Meli. It was stated that Mwansa had stopped at a house in Kazembe and asked Meli to give him some water. Seeking water the girl stayed inside the house for some time, and Mwansa went to see what she was doing. She was sitting on her bed; she asked him to sit down beside her. Mwansa refused, saying he was a widower. The girl said it was no matter and they lay together. Meli's parents heard of this, and they summoned Mwansa. They told him he would have to fetch a magician. Mwansa said first he would only fetch one if the court made him, but later agreed to do so. Cycling to fetch the magician, Mwansa said, he looked over his shoulder in a deserted stretch of road and saw three lions and fell down unconscious.² He was found and taken to a mission hospital. Later he did fetch a

¹ Names fictitious, case actual.

² Those present in court understood by this that the lions had been sent by the spirit of Mwansa's dead wife. Some, however, thought that Mwansa was lying and had invented the lions to try and persuade the court that the spirit had nothing to do with his falling unconscious.

magician. The case was brought because, irrespective of the magician's work, Mwansa had 'brought death' to the house of Meli, and had given her an evil spirit (*cibanda*) that travelled about with her: the spirit of Mwansa's dead wife. The dead woman's mother's brother was generous and said that they had not taken Mwansa to task on his wife's death¹ but told him to wait patiently until they found him a successor. But they had neither given him polenta nor shaved him because of the absence of witnesses from Mwansa's own family. They now wanted him to come and live in their village until they settled the matter. The court judgment was not confined strictly to the suit which was brought before it. Mwansa had to pay £4 to Meli's parents, and Meli had to pay £2 to the dead wife's parents because of the danger she had caused them, although they had not been interested in making a case out of it.

It is thus clearly to the advantage of all parties that a successor should be found. Formerly two or three years might have elapsed but it is quicker now because the people say they fear that the Administration may blame them for leaving widows or widowers neglected. Even now it usually takes the better part of a year.

Death

Two officials are chosen to deal with a death. One is the *kashika*, the burier who makes the final adjustments to the body in the grave. This is usually a close fellow clansman, but may be a son or brother's son of the deceased; and he is afterwards responsible for the upkeep of the grave. The other is the *mwine wa mfwa*, the 'owner of the death'. This may be either a man or a woman; a brother is preferable, but a sister, sister's son or sister's daughter may act. It is seldom a member of another lineage. Mourners sit in two groups: the group of the deceased's family and friends, and the group of the widow's family and friends. The owner of the death belongs to the former group, leads all the joint discussions to wind up the case, and may summon at any time the group of the widow to listen to his words or obey his behests. The first formal discussion takes place when the body is still in the house.

¹ As they might have done, in the assumption that through his bad behaviour as spouse sorcery had been brought to bear against her from one direction or another.

This talk has the special name of *isambwe lya mfuwa*. First, decision is reached on the amount of the two payments to be demanded from the family of the widow, the *utufumyamfuwa* (money to get rid of the death) and the *amapumaculu* (money for beating down the 'anthill', i.e. the mound over the grave). The next question is to determine the cause of death.

This is in fact a form of inquest. Unless there is some obvious and immediate natural or mystical cause which appears to have brought about the death, the verdict will be that the death was murder by some sorcerer or sorcerers unknown. This is made public; but the family of the deceased is interested to enquire further, and there is much talk both among themselves and among other interested people about the possible cause of death. I cannot say whether in the past action was taken against a person considered guilty. Certainly today the recognition of a sorcerer who killed is followed by no form of retribution. The family enquires simply in order, as they say, to know. It may be that future behaviour will depend upon this verdict. In the matter of choosing a successor to an important position the knowledge that a man is a sorcerer who has killed may work in two ways. It may be used either as an excuse to appoint someone else, or as a reason for appointing the sorcerer himself. For it might be feared that he would use his powers, which are now recognized, against another successor if he were passed over. Sorcery which occurs within the lineage is generally held to have a political motive of this kind.

Some cases are clear cut. If a woman dies pregnant, this is due to *ncila*. It means her husband during her pregnancy has committed adultery (intercourse with the wife in the later months of pregnancy is forbidden). The family of the husband of a woman who died a month after her first child was born told me they were 'lucky': if the woman had died before the child was born, they would all have had to flee into the bush to avoid a fight, and would have had a heavy indemnity to pay. Formerly such a husband was obliged to go to the grave and proclaim he had killed two people, wife and child. Nowadays a fine is upheld by court and British Administration, for a husband does not deny his adultery. This is the only conceivable cause for a wife to die in pregnancy. If in fact the husband has not slept with another woman, he can admit that he has been too intimate with some

woman during the time, for the slightest approaches to intimacy are covered by the same term: *bucende*.

At the discussions, the cause of death is sought mainly in marital relations. Bad character can cause indirectly the premature death of a spouse. The widow's way of life is put under review, and she is either praised for being a good spouse, or castigated for her bad behaviour. The marital tie is unstable,¹ and adultery is commonplace. 'Adultery', a youth told me, 'is the tea we drink'. More than half of the court cases I attended included allegations of adultery. Adultery is said to cause death, for the lover in the case is said to become jealous of the rightful husband or wife, and since jealousy and sorcery walk hand in hand therefore death may well follow. And although the widower is not the sorcerer, he is held guilty for being the indirect cause of it.

If the deceased has been a person of importance, further steps may be taken to prove the killer's identity. Formerly every death was followed by a seance at which a magician divined by dancing after listening to the village gossip. The British Administration has imposed a law against divining; despite this, diviners are called in for the more important deaths, although I only heard definitely of two instances. I never saw a diviner at work. Divination, if it takes place, may be followed or preceded by another form of divination, a ritual hunt (*ibanda*). Since hunting is a normal activity this form of divination can be covered by its look of innocence, and it takes place frequently. According to the sexes of the animals killed, named parties are adjudged innocent or guilty. The results of all these enquiries are usually kept secret by the family which investigates them, but this may be due to the present fear of illegally insinuating 'witchcraft'.

The distribution of property is arranged at a gathering, soon after, called by the owner of the death. Property remains in general within the clan of its original owner. Children of a dead man go without: *tuli bamwama mukolwe* (we are children of cocks—we get nothing because chickens follow the hen). Even a widow has difficulty in retaining her own things unless she has witnesses to prove either that she bought or was given the goods concerned. The disposal of a house depends on who helped to

¹ Cf. Epstein, 'Divorce Law and the Stability of Marriage among the Lunda of Kazembe', p. 19.

build it: it may be sold and the proceeds shared out. A few of the wealthier people are now taking advantage of the dispensation to make wills, which the Administration allows. These are tending to upset the traditional system of distribution.¹ A wealthy carpenter willed his carpenters' tools and his banana farm to his sons, his house to his wife, and half of his savings to his father's kin (he had taken his father's place) leaving to his mother's family who would normally have been the sole beneficiaries only a half of his cash savings.

The Succession Ceremony

A few months after the death, a representative of the widow's family goes to the dead spouse's family to make overtures about getting a successor. At the discussion following the death it may have been said that the widow had behaved so badly that they would never give her a successor; but this is recognized to be mere talk. The go-between may be put off once or twice but finally the amount of *tobolola* money (above, p. 57) is named. When the money is found a date is fixed for the ceremony of succession.

This ceremony is important from more than one viewpoint. For the widow it ends the period of taboos and re-establishes her as a normal member of the community. From the point of view of the successor it puts him into a senior status, that of the dead man. He takes over a complete new social personality. From the point of view of the lineage it is the mechanism for the perpetuation of names within it and hence of the stability of its structure.

A few days after the death the *mushingo* (belt or beads) is given into the care of a young boy of the lineage. While he has it, the child is forbidden to place pots upon fires.² Shortly before the ceremony is due to take place the dead man's lineage begs the widow's for *cisamunamushingo* (money to bring the belt down from the shelf: figurative since it is worn by its young caretaker).

¹ Cf. Colson, 'Possible Repercussions of the Right to make Wills upon the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia', pp. 7 f.

² It is forbidden for all villagers to place pots on fires before the village has been purified after a death, and women are forbidden to place pots on fires during their menses. The impurity of death does not leave the belt of the deceased until succession, and hence it is given to a young person who does not engage in sexual activities. It might just as well be given to an old widow or widower, but this is never done.

This money, a few shillings, is given to the child who hands it over to the person who is to be in charge of the installation, probably the same person as had been the 'owner of the death'. The belt is then rubbed with a substance called *mufuba*. This is a porridge provided by a magician, made of early sorghum, medicated with wood-dust of three trees.¹ It is left to dry, and is used for many kinds of purification. This is done, it is explained, so that the successor may wear the belt without fear. The importance of the belt was vividly shown, when a young man of the village in which I was living died at Livingstone, some hundreds of miles away. His property was shared out among relatives there, but the belt was sent back to his home village so that the successor could take it.

Succession takes place at the dead man's house, where the widow has continued to live. On the day appointed, the successor is given the belt. He does not wear it, but puts it at the head of his bed. After sleeping with the widow without intercourse the new husband takes a firebrand or a few lighted matches and throws them out of the window. The woman's *banacimbusa* (instructresses and midwives) are waiting outside and this is a sign to them that the succession has taken place. They dance a bit, singing '*Bupyani bwapyi*', the succession is done. In the morning the couple together place the marriage pot on the fire. The wife stirs polenta in it and they eat together. On the morning after the first night, there is a public ceremony, *kulula*. This practice takes place at various occasions of status change. The couple dress up in their best cloth, the widow for the first time since her husband's death. Before they come out of the house an elder of the lineage dresses the successor in the belt, perhaps also handing him the dead man's spear or gun. The couple sit on a mat with a basin in front of them. In succession ceremonies the first act is *kusonine nondo*: a lineage leader puts *mufuba* on the blade of a hoe, holds it to the successor's lips telling him not to eat it; and then bangs the blade of the hoe with a piece of metal. This is what makes public the fact of succession. As an informant puts it: 'Now the successor is free

¹ Early sorghum is the whitest of the grains and as such is a symbol of purity and figures largely in first-fruit ceremonies. The trees are called *mwinebala*, *cangwe* and *musambamfwa*. I did not recognize them, none of them being common; but the name of the third is directly translatable as 'that which washes away death'. *Mufuba* of a different kind is specially prepared by the same magicians for the use of chiefs.

from difficulties; he needs no other medicine to purify himself for having taken the dead man's body-dirt. Then if trouble arises later, people know he did not steal the position, and so they will not blame him for a death that might occur. For people could suspect him if his succession was not made public like this.'

In the lecturing (*kulula*) which follows, stress is laid on the fact that the successor is now in the place of someone else, and that he must live up to the good way in which the dead man had lived. Each person as he speaks throws money into the basin, and this is divided among the deceased's family. When this is over, there is rejoicing, and a song is sung:

*Mutima uno mpyana yama
Fyenka filya ifyali yama.*

One in heart with my uncle, I succeed him
I am just exactly as my uncle was.

The following night complete intercourse takes place.

The ceremony of succession varies according to the status of the dead man, with other differences when a man who already has a wife is inheriting another one. In the latter case, the successor must first receive the *mushingo* beads of his own wife, which she removes from her waist in bed. Then they have intercourse, wash in the marriage pot, and in this way 'he receives the fire of his wife' and can go to inherit. In the same way a married woman can take the place of a married woman who has died. She begs her husband for his belt, goes off and undergoes the two-night ceremony with the widower, and on return the husband receives payment for the 'loan' of his wife. Other variations of the ceremony can be made to determine the position of the inherited wife *vis-à-vis* a man's other wives; but these refinements need not be described.

For lack of suitable people a man may take the place of a woman, and vice versa. A woman can take a man's place only if she has a husband of her own. She first has intercourse with her husband, then goes to the house of the widow of the man whose place she is taking without having purified herself in her marriage pot. She spends the rest of the night on the same bed as the widow. In the morning she and the widow together place the widow's marriage pot on a fire in the widow's house. There follows the *kusorine nondo* and *kulula* ceremonies, but the 'spouses' are 'divorced' immediately.

When a man inherits a position he may or may not want to continue living as the widow's husband. There is a simple expedient for divorce. A man who already has a wife frequently does not reside with the widow but simply provides her with food and clothing from time to time. He may build a hut for her beside his own. On the other hand he may immediately, or at any time after the succession, end the union by giving her white beads. The decision whether to live as husband and wife is a personal one. The lineage however sees to it that succession takes place to the extent that the successor sleeps with the widow, to free her from taboos; that the fact of succession is made public, and that the name of the deceased is still extant in the lineage. If a union is then to be dissolved, the husband calls representatives of the woman's family and speaks to them in the following sense: 'Friends, I am leaving this woman of yours now, because I have taken the name of my relative who died; let your woman go and marry where she will'. Then he rubs meal or white powder on her wrist¹ or ties a string of white beads round it as a sign that the matter is finished and the woman can go in peace. The man is married and divorced.

I have gone at some length into the question of names, death and succession, to emphasize the importance of these matters to individuals and to stress the dire nature of the widely recognized sanctions against failure to carry out the various obligations. Lineage members, particularly lineage elders, have a major responsibility to see that they are performed. Death, succession, and inheritance of names are the events in the sphere of domestic kinship which are so important to individuals and families, and are at the same time the means whereby the form of lineage is maintained.

Nature of the New Union

Children are frequently born to a woman and to the successor to her dead husband. What is their status? If a man succeeds his brother as the husband of his brother's wife, this is not the levirate

¹ The powder is *mpemba*, a kind of white kaolin with the property of purity and the power of blessing, in the manner of *musuba*. It is used widely; is found in the escarpment, and those who collect it and shape it into balls have a ready sale for it: unlike *musuba* it requires no specialist magician's knowledge to make or use.

where 'the pro-husband can never be pater to the children born of the wife, whether begotten by the dead or by himself'.¹ Radcliffe-Brown agrees with this characteristic of the levirate when he says: 'The widow remains the wife of the dead man, for whom the brother is a surrogate and thus not strictly speaking her husband'.² Nor is it precisely widow inheritance where, as Gluckman points out, 'the widow is expected or even compelled to marry a relative of the dead man. This is a new union and future children belong to the new husband.'³ It is difficult to define exactly the position of children born to the new union. Gluckman notes further that in levirate marriage future children address their genitor by the same term as do their mother's other children, and that in widow inheritance the genitor is their father, and their mother's other children may address him by different names.⁴ On the Luapula there is no verbal distinction between father, step-father and father's brothers. There is similarly no distinction between full brother and half-brother. It makes no difference if the successor is not a brother but a sister's son or sister's daughter's son; because on succession he enters the generation of the dead man. Thus a child calls his father *tata*, which is the term he uses towards his step-father, and towards his step-father through inheritance. Sons of the original husband call sons of the successor, both by the new and previous marriages, by the same term, *wesu*. And the successor calls his own and the dead man's children by the same term *mwana*. A distinction may be made, but it is one which is not normally used: a successor may refer to the children of his predecessor as 'the children I found in the house' (*bana nalisanga mu ng'anda*) in the same way as he may describe the step-children gained through ordinary second marriage. And a step-child can distinguish between 'father' (anyone in the category) and 'the father who begot me' (*tata uwamfyele*). But in everyday speech distinctions of these kinds are not made. Moreover when names are used, it is not possible to distinguish children of a man from

¹ Evans-Pritchard, *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, p. 14.

² *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, p. 64.

³ Gluckman, 'Marriage and Divorce among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal', p. 183.

⁴ *Ibid.*

those of his successor. For the children of a successor born before he succeeded now claim to be children of the name the father now has, that is, children of *the name of the dead man*; for the father takes the predecessor's name and his old name may lapse.

Perhaps the situation may be better understood by considering individuals not as persons but as the holders of names, positions or offices. Each man has a name. On his death, the name subsists as an attribute or possession of the lineage. After a while the lineage finds a member to succeed to the name. This member is then the embodiment of two positions, and holds two names, his own original one and the one he inherits. Of these the inherited overrides the original name and position, because it is either of a senior generation, or else is senior in the same generation (a senior never succeeds a junior). Children, in these terms, are children of a position rather than of an individual. For men are mortal; a name can be inherited from generation to generation.

This then is a form of widow inheritance in which the successor becomes a husband to the wife and a father to the children of the deceased. It is a part of 'positional succession'¹ and the successor adopts the *persona* of his dead kinsman.

Choosing a Successor

I discuss now the manner in which the successor is chosen. The unit in which he is sought is the lineage, which, it will be remembered, is the only kind of clan section which is named after its founder and leader.

The choice of successor is a matter of importance, and is decided at one or more meetings. If the death has been that of an important person, important members of the lineage—or even of the sub-clan—may be brought in. Some hereditary names have the right of choosing the successor to certain very important names. In this circumstance those with the right of choosing are known as the owners (*abene*) of the name. Otherwise, the lineage as a whole are the 'owners'. Women as well as men attend the meetings although they may sit separately, in the sun while the men are in the shade, and give opinions only when invited.

¹ Of the general type described already for the Bemba: Richards, 'Some Types of Family Structure amongst the Central Bantu', p. 224; for the Wambugwe: Gray, 'Positional Succession among the Wambugwe'; and for the Yao: Mitchell, *The Yao Village*, p. 121.

The ideal successor, it is said, is a full younger brother. Next comes the classificatory brother within the lineage. For important names the position frequently alternates between lines of descent (*ng'anda*, or *ifumo*) within the lineage with the expressed aim of avoiding jealousy within the group. With the names of minors, particularly those who die unmarried, succession seems usually to go to a younger brother.

Next to the brother in importance for succession is placed the sister's daughter's son. This is the only relative of that generation (grandchildren's generation) who is normally referred to or addressed as 'brother' or 'younger brother' (*wesu* or *mwaike*). All other relatives of this generation are called *mwishikulu*, grandson. But a man in this relationship may eventually expect to take his mother's mother's brother's name and from an early age he calls his grandfather 'brother' or 'elder brother'. This is true of all males in the category and not only the most likely successor. Those who call males two generations up '*shikulu*', grandfather, are those who cannot expect to succeed in any circumstances. The sister's daughter's son is thus regarded in a way as being of the same generation as his 'grandfather', as are all classificatory uterine grandchildren of the same lineage. In consequence the kinship terminology ensures that all male members of a lineage, dead and alive, are expressed as being either in the relationship of brother/brother, or of mother's brother/sister's son to one another. Expressions of extra-lineage relations are different. But within the lineage the male members belong in this way only to two adjacent generations. The most important kinship terms are shown in Diagram I. A lineage member of the third descending generation is no longer 'nephew' but 'son' (*mwana*) and the reciprocal is 'father'. But this does not affect the main argument since the term still implies a difference of only one generation. In any case, one is seldom of the age to succeed one's great-grandfather.

Next to brother and sister's daughter's son, the sister's son is the one who inherits. Although talk of succession is usually carried on in terms of nephew succeeding uncle (as in the song quoted earlier) in fact those who succeed are rather more frequently 'brothers' than 'nephews'. The fact that it is not only the name, but also the set of relationships that is inherited, means that easier personal adjustments for the successor are involved if he comes

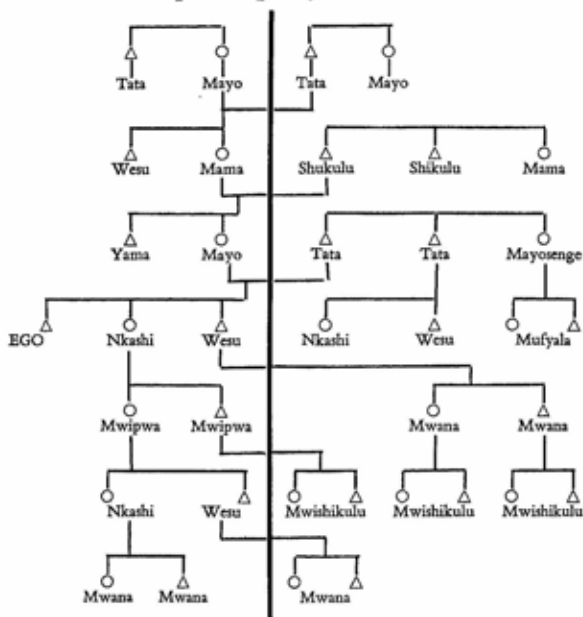


DIAGRAM I

SOME LUAPULA KINSHIP TERMS. EGO'S LINEAGE ON LEFT

from the same generation, or from two generations down, than if he comes from the adjacent descending generation. Thus relationships between grandfathers and those in their grandchildren's generation are friendly and there is banter between them. Young children spend much time amusing their grandfather by teasing him. The grandchild is 'like the owner of his grandfather's house'. The liberty and lack of respect involved in the relationship is readily adjustable to the equality in the relationship between members of the same generation. But to make the same adjustment to one's parent's generation is more difficult. The affinal relationships point this up best. Uncle's wife's mother is

'grandmother'. But if a man takes his uncle's place, she suddenly becomes his mother-in-law and commands respectful treatment. Similarly uncle's wife is of the paternal generation; succession to uncle's position means taking one from that generation as wife.¹ The friendly alignment of alternate generations within the lineage favours succession by alternate generations.

Again, if a man married his mother's brother's daughter, succession to mother's brother would make mother and daughter co-wives. These conditions make both such a succession and such a marriage things to be avoided. There is a precept that a man should marry his father's sister's daughter and not marry his mother's brother's daughter although he is allowed sexual play with both (the kinship terms for these relatives are *mufyala* for both male and female). But the figures which I have suggest that the latter marriage is at least as frequent: out of 166 marriages in five villages for which I have the relevant information, 4.2 per cent were with father's sister's daughter and 5.6 per cent with mother's brother's daughter.

Table VII analyses instances of male succession, taken from genealogies, according to the relationships of successors to predecessors. I was unable to check the number of instances in which succession was not carried out; for no information was recorded equally when there was no succession and when succession took place outside the lineage. The table shows that out of 71 instances of male succession, 49 were by so-called members of ego's generation and 22 by so-called members of the adjacent descending generation. The succession, which I have described as preferable, for same and second-descending generation does not perhaps seem outstandingly clear from this. I judge the explanation as follows. If a man leaves a widow the successor should have the ability to look after her, so he should be adult. Thus it is said that a man who inherits a widow should have a wife already. So although the sister's son is not specially favoured on other grounds to become successor, he is a possible candidate, and the fact that members of

¹ This equivalence of alternate generations does not however find expression, on the Luapula, in the siting of village houses, although this emerges as an important element in other nearby societies: cf. Wilson, *Good Company*, pp. 19 ff.; Stefaniszyn, 'The Ambo', p. 47; Turner, 'The Spatial Separation of Generations in Ndembu Village Structure', *passim*; Watson, 'The Kaonde Village', p. 16; Collins, 'The Aushi Village' (MS.).

this generation are more likely to be of the optimum age, being adults and married, tends to favour them in practice as successors.

Any suitable person from within the required degree of relationship may be chosen to fill the vacant place. Suitability nowadays implies also the willingness to undergo widow inheritance, for some of those professing Christianity consider this bigamy or adultery. Otherwise all that is required is a sober person who will be able to look after the widow properly. If possible the place is

TABLE VII
Relationships of male successors to predecessors

<i>Actual relationship of successor to predecessor</i>	<i>Expressed relationship to predecessor</i>	<i>Actual generation difference</i>	<i>Expressed generation difference</i>	<i>Incidence</i>	<i>Totals</i>
B	brother	—	—	25	37
MZS	"	—	—	7	
MMZDS	"	—	—	1	
MMMZDDS	"	—	—	1	
others	"	—	—	3	
ZS	nephew	1	1	11	19
MZDS	"	1	1	6	
MMMZDDDS	"	1	1	1	
others	"	1	1	1	
ZDS	brother	2	—	6	12
MZDDDS	"	2	—	3	
MMZDDDS	"	2	—	1	
others	"	2	—	2	
ZDDS	son	3	1	1	3
others	"	3	1	2	
					71

Included are those instances from village censuses and lineage genealogies where it was reasonable to suppose accurate information.

Abbreviations used here and elsewhere:

B = brother	S = son
D = daughter	W = wife
M = mother	Z = sister.

Used in combination, MZS, for example, means mother's sister's son.

given to a man who has not already inherited a position, but who has a wife of his own. It may be thought that there are enough suitable people to make this an easy matter. On the contrary the scatter of members of one lineage all over the valley and at work in the towns sometimes makes it difficult to find a successor, and so one may be sought either from another lineage or else in another clan altogether, so long as there is some relationship with the deceased. Other difficulties may be overcome by giving the wives to one person and the inherited name to another. Such an inheritance is known as *bupyani bwa kase*.

Succession by a member of another clan seems to be more common in some lines than in others. The Lunda to be discussed later are a special case. Among Shila headmen, whose ancestors they say were all of the Crocodile Clan, few now belong to that clan and one assumes inheritance outside of it. Usually extra-clan succession takes place without reference to lineage elders. A father may appoint the daughter of one wife to succeed the daughter of another, although the only relationship of these women is through their father's clan. Such a move carries disapproval. There is no special ceremony for the transfer of a name from one clan to another. Sometimes a son takes the place of his father. This is more usual in village headmanships if available nephews, brothers and uterine grandsons are unsuitable for the special tasks connected with headmanship. For the more important positions, the original clan still regards itself as the owner of the name and when a later case of inheritance arises they try to make the name revert to their own lineage. The successions of MAKUNGU II-IV (diagram, p. 107) are a case in point. Finally, as has happened among the Lunda, a name may disappear for some time and be resurrected decades later.

The Loss of Names

Many people have died in a lineage's past, perhaps more than the number of people alive in the lineage. It may thus be wondered what happens to the names of all those who have died. People recognize that names get lost through time, and they have an expression for this, 'the disappearance of names', *kuloba kwa mashina*. Although ideally everyone, save for the exceptions mentioned earlier, should be succeeded, this does not always happen. Where a line is dying out, the elders may not bother to find anyone and

the mystical difficulties for widows may be overcome by resource to a magician. At the time of my fieldwork the Leopard Clan lineage of MAKUNGU was without young descendants through females and few members of the lineage who had died recently had been succeeded. Again, on the death of an unmarried person it often happens that the belt is given to the successor, usually a younger brother, who continues to use his original name. Another explanation is that, despite the general desire not to do so, elders frequently give more than one name to one person. Thus a man may hold many names, his own and all those he has inherited. Headman KASEBULA held five names when he died. These names were all inherited by one person, who thus now holds six. Most of these names had originally belonged to men who attained importance and so they are remembered. But names of lesser importance would be 'swallowed up' by names of greater importance, and in time forgotten. This is the most usual way in which names are lost; and it is expressed in the following way: 'the position of X has entered the position of Y'.¹

One way of expressing succession is to say 'they have brought out the name of So-and-so', or 'they have brought it into the light of day' or 'before the people'.² Where a person inherits a number of names at once, only one name is 'brought out' at the succession ceremony. It is understood that the successor inherits, temporarily, the other names, which are as it were subsumed in the most important name for the time being; and that the lineage elders intend to 'bring out' the other names one by one as soon as suitable successors are found for them. But this seldom happens, and the lesser names either become forgotten through time or are held to be 'swallowed up' by the greater name.

It is relevant to distinguish here between a spirit name (*ishina lya mupashi*, p. 84) and an inherited name (*ishina lya bupyani*). A man is the embodiment of the spirit whose name he got as a young child. But when he inherits the spirit name, or any other name of a dead man, he does not become the embodiment of the spirit of the deceased. He fills the deceased's social role only. Thus, I asked who had inherited the name of a man long dead, and had the answer: 'He (or it) has died, but we have the spirit here with

¹ E.g. *BuMwelwa bwalingila muli buMwansa*.

² *Balifumye shina lya buKantwa (mu kasuba)*.

us'. This implied that the name had not been inherited from successor to successor since the time of the first holder's death, but that there was someone alive, or perhaps more than one person, who had been given the name at birth as spirit name.

Perpetual Kinship within the Lineage

The inheritance of names in this way, and of the social statuses connected with them, enables perpetual kinship to exist between social positions. The perpetual relationship is an expressed kinship relationship between the holders of two names, which does not vary with the actual genealogical relationship of the people who are at any one time holding the names. It is a fixed relationship between hereditary names which remains constant through the generations.

Perpetual kinship exists within the lineage and also, by affinal and other cognatic links, between one lineage and another, and between one clan and another. At this stage I confine discussion to perpetual kinship within the clan and lineage.

Kinship of this kind is limited in scope. I have already discussed the dying out of names through course of time. Thus comparatively few names endure through more than one or two incumbents. Those names which endure are the important ones which swallow the lesser ones. When the holder of an important name dies, lineage elders make sure that succession takes place and that the name remains in the lineage, for 'we cannot forget our *cikolwes*'. The lineage is named after its founder who is the *cikolwe* of members at any time. This *cikolwe* has to have successors, he must have a representative, his name must be present at all times in the lineage. For its incumbent at any time has rightful leadership of living members; and it is moreover the unifying strand in lineage history. It is the duty of the present incumbent of the *cikolwe*'s name, who is now *cikolwe* himself, to be the repository of the lineage's history.

The relations of clan, sub-clan and lineage are above defined in historical terms; I now turn to their genealogical relationships. Perpetual kinship is the basis of their genealogical links, so I begin by clarifying the working of this institution within the clan. In preface it can be restated that the ethnic history of the population is one of movement and migration of small segments of it. This movement is still in operation not only through the immigration

of small kinship groups from the surrounding countries to benefit from the valley's prosperity, but also through the continuous movement of small groups within the valley, seeking good headmen in village after village, or themselves establishing autonomous villages.

Historically the clan was associated with its homeland. When a group split off from it, this group became known as the clansmen of the leader of the dissident group. As the previous section showed, the relationship of this leader to the *cikolwe* of the clan was either 'brother' or 'sister's son'. By perpetual kinship the name of the leader of the dissident group remains for ever in this relationship with the leader of the group from which it broke off. In course of time the dissident group itself split up: other groups left it, some settled in different places, took different migratory routes. As with the original situation, the names of the leaders of these dissident groups, which become hereditary, are set in perpetual kinship with the hereditary name of the leader from whom they broke away. This continued splitting of the clan does not however bring about an increase in the number of generations figuring in the genealogies; for the second group of dissident leaders are likewise in the same generation as, or the immediately adjacent generation to the leader from whom they broke off; and furthermore they reckon their relationship with the clan head through the leader from whom they broke away.

The reader is referred to Diagram II in consideration of the following case. The diagram shows the Leopard Clan sub-clan of MAKUNGU. The genealogical knowledge of one man does not extend beyond lineage boundaries, so I have had to reconstruct this from the separate genealogies given by the heads of the three lineages of the sub-clan. I recapitulate what we have learned of this sub-clan already. The lineage of NKAMBO split off before the expedition, of which MAKUNGU was leader, reached the Luapula some 250 years ago or more.¹ This MAKUNGU is stated in his and NKAMBO's genealogy to have been the first one. The present NKAMBO believes the first NKAMBO to have been sister's son to the first MAKUNGU. On the other hand the lineage of KASEBULA is relatively recent. The mother of the first KASEBULA was a sister's

¹ Because MAKUNGU was well established on the Luapula before the arrival of the Lunda about 1740.

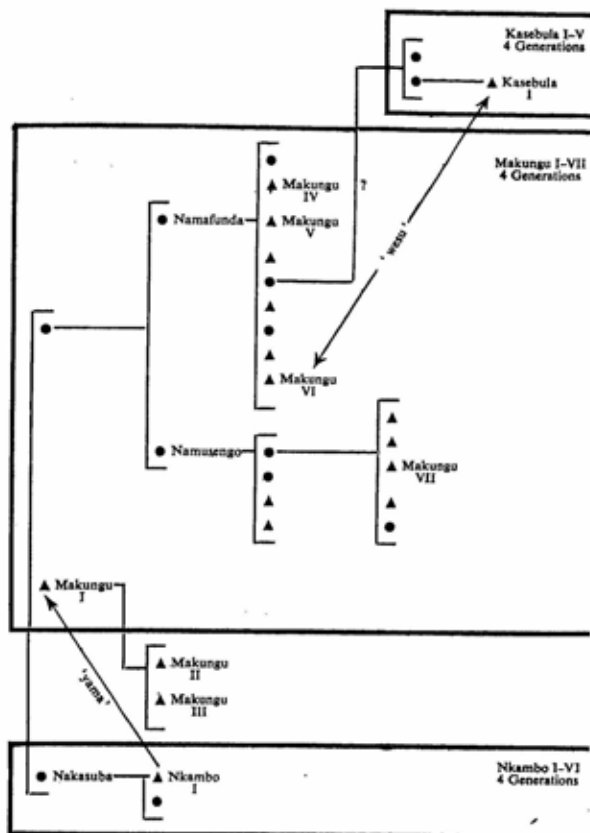


DIAGRAM II: MAKUNGU'S SUB-CLAN, WITH RELATIONSHIPS OF LINEAGE FOUNDERS. EXTRACTED FROM GENEALOGIES OF THE THREE LINEAGE HEADS.

daughter to the MAKUNGU whom she left to become a wife to Kazembe, after the arrival of the Lunda. KASEBULA was not a child of Kazembe but of a subsequent commoner husband. KASEBULA

was thus actually sister's daughter's son to the MAKUNGU in office at the time. The present KASEBULA thinks that KASEBULA I was a sister's daughter's son of MAKUNGU I, but this is shown to be otherwise from the genealogy of MAKUNGU, who shows him as sister's daughter's son to MAKUNGU VI. KASEBULA is in a perpetual relationship with MAKUNGU as uterine grandson, or 'younger brother' in the kinship terminology. Any KASEBULA calls the MAKUNGU of his time 'my brother'.

Both historically and genealogically KASEBULA and NKAMBO are far apart. To measure their relationship they seek a common link. This link is MAKUNGU. NKAMBO is sister's son to MAKUNGU; while KASEBULA is 'brother' to MAKUNGU, actually sister's daughter's son. But 'brother' is the term which carries. Thus NKAMBO in spite of his actual seniority of origin appears as one generation junior to KASEBULA, whom he refers to as 'mother's brother'. The connection is not through any particular incumbent of the name MAKUNGU, but through its constant position in relation to those with whom it has perpetual kinship links. In perpetual kinship, MAKUNGU I, from whom NKAMBO broke away, and MAKUNGU VI, from whom KASEBULA broke away, are the same *persona*.

Genealogies and Lineage Organization

Lineage leaders give from four to seven generations as the depth from original *cikolwe* to young children.¹ Outside the lineage the elders know only the kinship links with the *cikolwes* of the same sub-clan and possibly the heads of other lineages, in terms of perpetual kinship. The lineage is the largest unit of which a member can know an embracing genealogy (as it is also the largest unit among the common people with a history of its own).

It is remarkable that nearly all genealogies, at whatever apparent age the lineage may be, fall within this range of depth. It seems then that there has been distortion in some if not in all. It is possible that those of groups that came in Lunda times (and most of them have immigrated in the last hundred years) may be actual records of the genealogical position. With the apical *cikolwe* as the leader of the immigrant group, there has not yet been time for

¹ The disparate ages of members of one genealogical generation make it difficult to assess the generational depth of one lineage against another. Four and seven make the limits of recorded depths, including the newest children.

telescoping to take place. There are elders still alive who knew the people who immigrated in the last century. But for many of the older lineages, and the sub-clan of MAKUNGU is a case in point, elision of generations must have occurred. An examination of the genealogies indicates that distortion has taken place in the earlier generations. The equal depth of these lineages, taken together with the traditions which are a rough guide to the time element, is almost enough in itself to show the telescoping; but an actual impossibility can be demonstrated in the genealogy which NKAMBO gave me.

NKAMBO arrived on the Luapula before about 1700.¹ According to the genealogy NKAMBO gave me (Diagram III), the brother of the first NKAMBO is a man who died in 1949. He was very old and had remembered well the visit of Livingstone (1867-8); despite this it cannot be a true representation, and in the genealogy this man must have been put up through some generations which do not appear on it.

This same diagram shows that the mother of this man and of the first NKAMBO was married to MWINEMPANDA. The present NKAMBO still calls the present MWINEMPANDA his 'father'. MWINEMPANDA is one of the Lunda aristocrats who came with Kazembe and the marriage therefore could not have taken place before about 1740. This means either that the woman Nakasuba was not the mother of the first NKAMBO, for he existed before the Lunda arrival, or else that she was not married to MWINEMPANDA. It is more likely that MWINEMPANDA generations later married a

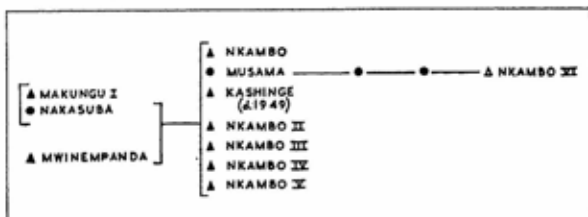


DIAGRAM III: EXTRACT FROM NKAMBO'S GENEALOGY.

¹ He arrived according to NKUBA's history before the arrival of NKUBA, whose position had had three incumbents before the arrival of the Lunda about 1740.

woman who had taken the name of Nakasuba. In any case the genealogy is shown to be false, and omits higher generations.

The telescoping appears more clearly in some lineages, particularly among the Bwilile and Shila which are of long standing and are associated with ownership and ritual of the land. Here there is proliferation of siblings in higher generations: one genealogy gives nine sons of the same mother to have been the first nine incumbents of the name KALAPWE.

One would expect that if telescoping took place it would do so for the more remote generations. One supposes that KASEBULA's tree, of his comparatively new lineage, is less distorted than those of longer-established lineages like the other two. But even at this comparatively early stage in the history of KASEBULA's lineage the name KASEBULA and the few others associated with it since the foundation belong already as it were to their own time milieu. The positions are in the relations of brother and uncle to living people, but at the same time they are associated in historical thought with the formative days of the lineage: they are close to the source MAKUNGU. This is even more so the case with NKAMBO because he, as an Owner of the Land, has a formal history which KASEBULA, who emerged in Lunda times, does not have. This attribute of perpetuated names will again be seen to have a special interest owing to the vividness with which the Luapula peoples see their past.

The institutions of positional succession, perpetual kinship, and kinship terminology together give the clan a highly distinctive structure; and although not one clan is present as a whole in Luapula society yet there are representatives of clans, sub-clans and lineages present and all types of relationship deriving from the clan system are found there. We are accustomed to descriptions of those types of patrilineal clans in which span roughly corresponds to depth; in which splits in the clan structure which have given rise to existing segments are remembered as nodal points in the genealogies. There may be manipulation of genealogies to some extent but nevertheless the structure remains comparable to that of a tree from trunk to twigs. The system is one of balanced parts, in which parts of equal status in this system may be hostile among themselves, but yet unite in alliance against others with a more distant common ancestor. Each part is in its well-known and constant position as against all other parts of the structure.

The Luapula clan is different. The difference is accountable not only because it is a matrilineal rather than a patrilineal clan. The main difference lies in this. In the classical type of segmentary clan, each lineage of the smallest kind is part of a larger lineage, which is part of a still larger one and so on until all the lineages are eventually found to be a part of the clan and to have derived from the apical ancestor; and as the lineages are embraced by larger ones, so the genealogy comprising them becomes ever deeper. But on the Luapula the constituent lineages of one clan are of equal genealogical depth to within a generation or two of each other. The genealogy of the founder of a sub-clan is of the same depth as that of a lineage which sprang from it many generations later. If many generations later still another lineage arose out of it, this too is of about the same depth, from four to seven generations. The relationship of sub-clan to clan is similar. The leaders of the various segments of a clan, by virtue of the action of these three institutions, do not appear as descendants in a continual line; but they appear as a group of brothers and nephews. The lineages instead of appearing as a hierarchy appear as an association of equal groups, and in this way the differences in age, and hence perhaps the differences in size and political importance, are ironed out. The ancestor of the sub-clan is never more than a generation higher than the ancestor of any lineage. Likewise the clan ancestor is never more than a generation higher than the ancestor of any of its sub-clans (if they exist) or of its lineages. Span here does not correspond to depth. Luapula clans ramify widely, but are of shallow depth. They can carry on proliferating outwards without the ancestor being pushed back into a genealogically very distant past.

Few would now claim that genealogical material should be taken at its face value. It is assumed that such data represent something quite different from the actual descent situation. This was already held by Robertson Smith, MacMichael and others before the rise of modern anthropology.¹ Rather, as especially Evans-Pritchard and subsequently Bohannan have shown, they are alterable, and they alter in terms of current social situations.²

¹ Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 7; cf. MacMichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, vol. I, p. 131, where he considers genealogies as 'parables'.

² Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, p. 246; Bohannan, 'A genealogical Charter', *passim*.

Genealogies are a kind of history. Societies are not static. The situation today is not what it was a generation ago. If the present is always seen in terms of the past, the past, likewise, must not be static. Better than history, whose veracity today we can neither guarantee nor deny, genealogies demonstrate that the account given of the past changes regularly. To retain old genealogies at a constant depth means that the genealogical record of early ancestors must change every generation or so.

It would need a wide comparative study to work out the relations of genealogical and social structure. For the genealogies under consideration, mainly those of the pre-Lunda inhabitants, I would point out that they appear to be stabilized at the minimum depth consistent with apical ancestors projected well into the past. Those alive and those recently dead are linked to the earliest ancestral generations directly. We have seen how the kinship institutions make this possible. But there remains the question why here these ancestral generations are brought forward, while in other societies middle generations appear in the genealogical record. What set of factors can be put in relation to this lack of internal segmentation of the clan, and to the fact that a Luapula clan is a set of equal lineages in association and not a hierarchy of lineages of different status?

Firstly, lineages of a clan are widely dispersed; from an assumed centre they have migrated far and wide over a vast area. They are so far apart that few are in effective contact among themselves. The districts with which they are associated are not contiguous, nor do they all fall within the sphere of one overall political authority. Not every one of them as a unit has specific rights over a stretch of land. Hence the regulation of territorial affairs is not primarily a function of the clan.

Secondly, the Luapula Valley is a conquest state and the real political power is in the hands of the Lunda. As chapter VI will show, Lunda minimize the importance of clanship and a Lunda on entering political office respects his Lundahood rather than his clan. The Lunda have in their hands the power to keep the peace and administer justice. Hence social control and the regulation of disputes are not primarily functions of the clan.

The absence of clan political or territorial functions is consistent with the lack of a high degree of segmentation. The clan does not have to meet these functions, and is not highly organized in order

to do so. But it has to be pointed out (thirdly) that some of the lineages present in the Luapula Valley do have territorial associations of a specific kind. While remaining politically under the Lunda, some lineages are Owners of the Land in a purely ritual sense, the offices being vested in the *cikolwes* of these lineages. As will be elaborated in chapter IX, the achievement of ritual status, at the time of the earliest lineage ancestors, is the most significant fact in the past of these lineages. The constant narration of history brings forward the events of that period of establishment. This period was formative of the present distribution of ritual authority, and this authority remains the most important, if not the sole, claim to prestige of the pre-Lunda groups. The absence of the middle range of generations from the genealogies of these lineages thus helps to retain a live sense of these all-important events.

Fourthly, the demographic factor has to be considered. Even where a lineage has ritual control over a piece of land, it is not in sole possession but lives intermingled with other groups and in a minority. There is a high degree of individual mobility through marriage and emigration. Members of one lineage are scattered far and wide, and many of them become founders of other lineages. Those who remain represent the whole of the original lineage; the *cikolwe's* successor is the most suitable man from among them. A high degree of formal internal segmentation would ill accord with their small numbers and their ritual responsibility.

The commoner part of Luapula society is composed of groups of immigrants and their descendants who—whatever the nature of social organization in their original homelands—have on the Luapula formed descent groups which we call lineages. Lineages are dispersed, although they have local centres and may possess village headmanships. They vary in age from those of Owners of the Land to those of recent immigrants. Their genealogies vary slightly in form, the older ones having a proliferation of siblings in the highest generations. But whatever their age, when seen genealogically they have roughly the same status: old and new lineages have up to seven genealogical generations. Genealogies of recent immigrants may represent actual descent: those of older groups are certainly telescoped, the distortion taking place by the elision of generations between that of the founder and the most recent. The kinship terminology puts all lineage members dead and alive into two adjacent generations; this, combined with

positional succession and perpetual kinship within the lineage, allows of the telescoping of those generations whose members are not known to the living. The form the lineage takes arises not only out of the manipulation of genealogies, but also through those institutions of domestic kinship, like succession to ancestral names, which affect every lineage member.

CHAPTER V

THE VILLAGE

AS the village headman is the person in whom 'the domestic-kinship and political systems intersect',¹ so the village is the locus at which the lineage is tied into the political system. In another respect this is true of the districts under Owners of the Land, an aspect which is described in chapter VIII. There is no equally close link of lineage with politics in any of the other political divisions (with the possible exception of chiefdoms under Rat Clan chiefs) on the east bank. It is recalled that the east bank is a state under Kazembe. This state is divided as shown in Map III into seven chiefdoms which follow each other along the valley floor. Within the chiefdom of Kazembe himself are two 'sub-chiefdoms', but otherwise the next downward political unit is the village. Districts of Owners of the Land which are intermediate in size are of ritual rather than political significance. On the west bank there is no senior chief. The land is divided into chiefdoms of about the same size as those on the east bank. There are two *chefs vassaux* in the chiefdoms of KASHOBWE and NKUBA equivalent to sub-chiefdoms, but otherwise again the next smaller political unit is the village. On both banks the village is under a headman recognized by the Administrations.

Physical Aspect

In appearance Luapula villages have changed greatly since last century. In those days they were fewer but descriptions and histories lead one to believe that they were larger. From time to time a number of villages would join together for the sake of defence in one site and build a stockade of poles around the perimeter. In some cases, and regularly around the capitals of Kazembe, were dug trenches (*mpembwe*) from which earth was thrown up to form a rampart on the outside. Some of these trenches can still be seen in the neighbourhood of Mofwe lagoon. Some are many miles round and enabled people not only to sleep, but also to

¹ Gluckman, Barnes and Mitchell, 'The Village Headman in British Central Africa', p. 93.

cultivate, gather firewood and draw water without going outside the protecting barrier. When the Europeans from the north reached the Kalungwisi River, all the villages in what is now the chiefdom of Kambwali joined together under a Shila, Kafwimbi,¹ near the site of the present chief's town. After it was sacked, people dispersed to their original sites. Nowadays of course such defensive erections are unnecessary. Nevertheless, the form of villages is still compact, and stretches of uncleared land inside the area of the village houses are small and unusual. A village without immediate neighbours is a clear and compact group of houses at once distinguishable from the area of gardens or bush around it.

Until about sixty years ago when Kazembe returned from the plateau where he had gone to seek troops against the Yeke, there were no mud huts on the Luapula. Houses were small, high structures built of grass and pliant wood, with conical roofs or (with the huts of Lunda aristocrats) their walls were simply windproof papyrus mats. It was the later immigrants from the plateau who brought with them the knowledge of building mud houses. From that time until after the turn of the century when missionaries at Mbereshi taught the art of making sun-dried (kimberley) bricks, mud houses were the rule. Nowadays there is a gradual replacement of mud houses by sun-dried brick houses.

In spite of the progressive modernization of the country there remain a few villages in the style now generally outmoded. These consist of mud houses in a tangle of oil palms, banana trees and other foliage, set about with bougainvillea, and with designs or paintings on black, red chrome and blue decorating the front walls. There are no streets of houses, but there may be a fairly extensive open space in the middle near the headman's house. These villages are a contrast to the modern ones. The motor road was built from half a mile to a mile back from the original path, which lay very close to the swamp edge. People are now expected by the Native Authority to move to the main road; and there has been a gradual shifting of villages back to this line. One by one, as people find time to build, they demolish their mud houses and build with kimberley brick on a new site. Building activity in the dry season is intensive: Kazembe XIV was enthusiastic over town

¹ Visited by A. B. Watson in 1895. Watson, 'The Occupation of Kilwa Island', p. 70.



PLATE IX

The Shila headman's house in the old-style village of Mulwe at the south-eastern tip of Lake Mweru, set among thick foliage. The village is now being moved back to the motor road out of the trees.



PLATE X

In Kazembe's capital, sun-dried brick houses, built in streets, are compulsory. The tree in the centre is an oil-palm.

planning, and his own large capital laid out with streets and shopping centres is a proud achievement to show to visiting officials. He laid down that any new house in his capital must be of sun-dried brick. He also suggested to village headmen an optimum lay-out for their villages, and Native Authority assessors now discuss with a headman the general plan of a village he wants to build. This lay-out proposes a line of houses along each side of the road on the swamp edge with streets running towards the swamp at right-angles from it. Each headman is also encouraged to plant an avenue of *mutaba* trees along the main road in his village, so that eventually there will be an avenue of this Lunda royal tree from end to end of the valley.

It costs money to build houses of sun-dried brick. Even if a man does most of the work himself, he still has to find people to help him draw water, tread mud, and shape the bricks; and he may decide to incorporate luxuries involving work by specialists: plaster on the inside walls, wooden doors and glass windows. Boys, girls and women from the neighbouring villages are willing to help in this work to make a little money, while specialists are much in demand, often travel some miles, and want a fairly large fee. The cost of an average house with entrance hall, raised verandah and two or three other rooms is about £20 if paid labour is used for everything. It usually costs less, since the owner can do the bricklaying and thatching by himself. These houses last for many years—I know one in good repair since 1922—and they are bought and sold. This is more particularly so in Kazembe's capital with its stream of specialists passing through it, staying perhaps a year and then moving off.

A man would scarcely build himself a house of this sort unless he intended to settle in it for some time. For this reason, and because of the cost, houses into which boys move at the age of ten or eleven are single-roomed mud huts. Usually when a man first marries he and his wife move into a mud hut near the wife's mother's house, for the young man is unlikely to have the money for a brick house at the time, and moreover after he has been 'accustomed' to his in-laws, he is free to move elsewhere. Brick houses thus belong to couples who have been married for some time and who hope that they have found a village in which to settle permanently. It is also quite common for a man to build a small brick house for his widowed mother or mother's sister.

The buildings of the household are normally the house, a separate kitchen, a granary and a latrine. The granary is used for storing maize for making beer the year round, and since it is raised from the ground provides a convenient shade to sit in. There may also be a small cylindrical structure for storing ground-nuts, but these are usually stored in trees, tied up in a grass sphere. Those who own sheep or goats also have a stoutly built pen in which the animals are kept at night, for otherwise leopards would make short work of them. Hens and muscovy ducks are sheltered at night in the houses. The very few men who own cattle (perhaps ten in the whole country) keep them in large byres of sun-dried brick. Cooking was once done either in the house or on the verandah but now the Native Authority has laid down that a separate kitchen must be built. Frequently a small area behind the house is fenced off to make an extra room, formed by one house wall and three walls of reeds or poles. Here odd stores are kept and sick people may rest. It is also used for sleeping in the afternoon when wanted. But the fence must not surround the house entirely. This is the mark of a chief and a commoner who built such a fence would be exalting himself unduly.

Houses, even in the old type of village, have no special orientation, but it is considered *nkaka* (ill-mannered, careless of one's fellows) to build with the main door fenced in, or pointing away from the main road. A man should be able to greet as many people as possible from his own verandah. Normally houses line the main road or the streets within the village, with the main doors facing the streets.

The village has no obvious centre. The headman's house, unless he happens to be a chief of some sort in addition, cannot be distinguished from the houses of his villagers; but it should properly be near the middle of the village. The ritual foundation of the village (*nshipa*, p. 137) is buried underground and so forms no visible centre. Usually a *mutaba* tree is planted over it, but this may be only one of many such trees in the village. The headman does not have a specially fine house; others who do not have the honorary duties of a headman have more time to make money and afford fine houses. Formerly villages had resthouses (*nsaka*) in which men would congregate for discussion; but this custom is said to have come from Chishinga country in the last century, and it has died out. Groups gather together for talk in any suitable

place, sometimes at the headman's house, sometimes elsewhere. Stores and tearooms where they exist are important centres of gossip. No resthouse is necessary for feeding since the men of the village do not feed together. They feed in their houses, or on their verandahs, with other men whom they have invited for a meal.

What is not considered village land (*mushi*) is either garden land (*mabala*) or bush (*mpanga*). Houses built, or remaining, outside the main built-up area of the village are said to be 'in the bush'. This is somewhat derisive, for the inhabitants of such houses prefer to remain aloof, surrounded by grass, instead of enjoying the amenities of the swept village area. They are open to greater danger from snakes and marauding animals, and moreover the power of village medicines to ensure safety from such attacks is said not to extend beyond the swept area. Although small gardens are cultivated in villages where space is available this is not done in the centre but around the periphery.

Villages vary greatly in size (see above, p. 21). Apart from the fact that most chiefs' villages are larger than most others, it is not possible to relate village size to factors such as age or tribe. For they vary in size also from year to year through circumstances which are connected with the reputation the headman enjoys. Capitals are divided into sections (*fitente*, sing. *citente*) each of the status of an independent village; and the larger villages are also divided, although not for formal administrative purposes, into sections, also *fitente*, but here the word has a rather different implication.

The Genesis of a Village

Table V (p. 47) shows that some villages are of very long standing. This standing refers to the existence of a village under a headman of the same name, and takes no account of moves once it has been established in the Luapula Valley. Some of the old Shila villages have remained on the same site since their foundation at least two centuries ago, while others have changed their sites from time to time. Villages are still being formed. The rate of formation of new villages reached its peak about 30 years ago, since when it has been decreasing and between 1941 and 1950 the rate was about three to four new villages a year on average. Some villages have existed since the original headman immigrated with a sufficient number of followers to make a village; others

have existed since the resident of another village found himself with sufficient followers to form a village of his own.

A village may start in a number of ways.

MUBAMBA is headman of a Shila village on the edge of Lake Mweru. His ancestor was sent to that position by NKUBA before the arrival of the Lunda, in order to rule over the Bwilile in that part of the country.

KALUMBU is headman of a village in the district known as Chabu, the word for canoe-park or ferry. At this point on the Luapula there is hard land on each side of the river. It is the traditional crossing-place of friendly expeditions from the west; but shortly after Kazembe established himself at Mofwe, two important Lunda fled back to Mwata Yamvo and crossed here. Kazembe therefore sent KALUMBU, a Lunda aristocrat, to guard it.

KAPESA is headman of a Chishinga village in the Mununshi Valley. He had come with many followers and aided Kazembe in his fight against the Yeke. Kazembe awarded him part of the Mununshi country to settle in with his followers, and here he remains, having the status of sub-chief.

KASHULWE is the Shila headman of a village on Chisenga Island on the Luapula banks. When NKUBA and other Shila fled to the Congo in 1908, Kazembe sent KASHULWE who had remained on the British side to 'light the fires' again in this place, which was the traditional Storehouse of Kazembe associated with NKUBA.

LUKA was sent to form a village some five miles back in the bush to maintain an important road bridge and also to look after the grave of an important Lunda prince to whom prayer is made at times of gales and thunder.

These are examples of villages established at the desire of some political authority with political ends in view. It is more usual for villages to be formed on the initiative of prospective headmen. In order to form a village a man must have among his followers elders, *bacilolo*,¹ who can teach him the work of headmanship. The prospective headman may already be in control of a section of another village, in that he has followers and kinsmen inside the unit generally giving allegiance to a headman. A common first

¹ *Cilolo* on the Luapula means an elder particularly skilled at giving political advice, as distinct from *cikolwe* who is an authority on lineage affairs. Court assessors, for instance, are frequently referred to as *bacilolo*.

step is to signify his autonomy by moving his section to a position alongside the parent village, but still within its sphere of political and ritual influence. But then in order to be recognized by his chief, Kazembe, the Native Authority and the British Administration, he must apply to be 'written' (*kulembwa*) in the Native Authority register, along with the names of the taxpayers of his village.

If a quarrel has been the cause of the split, little is achieved by setting up a new village beside the old one. For this reason, or if he is afraid that the headman's medicines to counter sorcery in the village are not working properly, the new headman is likely to seek elsewhere for a site. It is usual to seek a site in the same chiefdom,¹ to be within ready access of the present cassava gardens which will continue for some years yet to bear produce. Thus he applies to his chief for a building site. The chief for his part may either get the man to select his own site or choose one for him,² either for some political reason or else to fill up a gap in the line of villages. The new headman then sets about the task of building his village. The chief grants a man a village only so long as he has the legal minimum of taxpayers—the number in recent years has been ten and fifteen—and if he is satisfied that the man will make a responsible headman, and has the support of elders to advise him. To the chief, to Kazembe and the Native Authority, these are the requisites of headmanship. But to the people what makes a headman is not a tax book, nor ten taxpayers, but rather his control of the ritual foundation of the village.

Kazembe and other chiefs welcome strangers to their respective lands. Each is anxious that his chiefdom should be thronged with people. In this way not only can he boast that he is a popular chief and that people like his rule, but also he can command more tribute, and the more subjects he has the higher is likely to be his pay from the Native Authority. Thus if a stranger wants to settle on the Luapula a chief will gladly find a village site for him and

¹ From my records of 26 villages, involving a total of 38 moves, 32 of the moves have been inside the borders of present chiefdoms. These villages are taken from the three northern chiefdoms, which were unaffected by the sleeping sickness regulations.

² Villages placed in accordance with chiefs' instructions are known often as *Pa Cebele*: 'at the place where it was said (by the chief)' as an alternative to their headmen's names.

his followers. Kazembe is responsible for this matter only in his metropolitan chiefdom; each other chief is responsible for the villages in his own chiefdom.

Once the site is fixed, the chief or his assessors may go to the site and call the neighbouring headmen, if there are any, to discuss various points of interest to them all. Villages are frequently sited as beads on a string along the main road. Here the officials determine boundaries with neighbouring villages, the boundary signifying the extent to which houses of each village may eventually spread. The distribution of the fertile land at the swamp edge will be demarcated, and canoe-parks and watering places settled by villages. Although less control is exercised over the sharing of garden land—any man being at liberty to cultivate where he will within his own chiefdom—agreement may be reached about the general area in which gardens of a particular village should be situated, with the general object of attaining greatest convenience for all. A remarkable instance of this accommodation occurred when the district of Kayo, just north of the capital, was peopled early in the century. Villages were established right among the gardens of citizens of the capital. Kazembe called his villagers together and persuaded them to cultivate in another direction so that the inhabitants of the new villages could have garden sites close to their homes. Today a very few isolated gardens of Kazembe's citizens remain there, but for the most part their former gardens are now worked by the newcomers.

Apart from the negotiations necessary at the foundation of a village various rituals have to take place. The negotiations and ultimate recognition fix the village eventually as a political entity in the administrative hierarchy. The Administration on the other hand takes no interest in the ritual, but yet no village can be formed without it. I discuss in a later section how the ritual makes the village habitable.

Village Composition

The name of a village is the name of its first headman. The position of headman is hereditary and the heir is chosen from among the junior members of the headman's lineage. The choice of a headman is no more than a special case of the choice of an heir, discussed in the previous chapter. Succession to the name of a headman includes succession at the same time to the headman-

ship itself. Thus to seek an heir to a headmanship is like seeking a successor to a name, but in this case special qualities may be desired. The succession ceremony is also basically the same but differences exist mainly because the ritual marriage pot of the headman's wife becomes the ritual pot of the village.

The village 'belongs' to a lineage in the same way as a name 'belongs' to a lineage. It is up to the lineage to find a successor to the headmanship it controls. The fact that the lineage has a village headmanship is of interest to lineage members. It is potentially useful to them, for they may there find a place to live under a headman who is also their kinsman. Members of other lineages of the same clan often live in the village, but then members of other clans do so also, although their kinship links may be very tenuous. Later I discuss the cause of the intermixture of clans in one village, and of the frequent shifts of individuals and groups from one village to another. But despite the ever-changing composition of a village, its existence as a political entity associated with the lineage which owns it is stable.

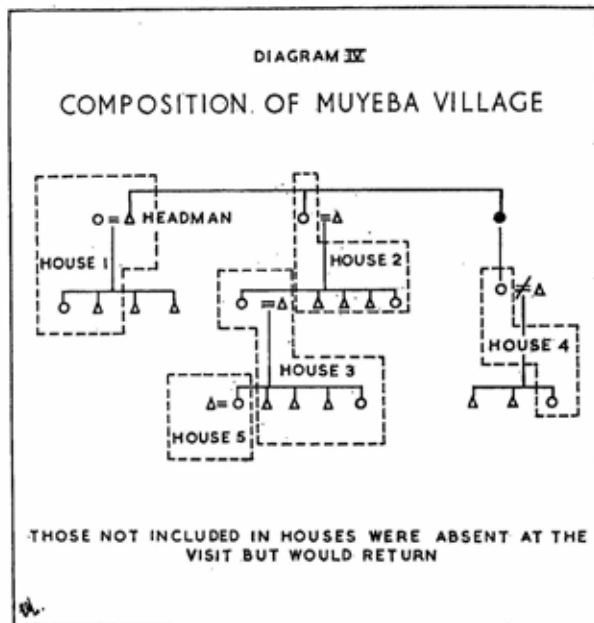
The headman is seldom the only representative of his lineage in his village. A headmanship may after all be the only power position achieved by any lineage member and its existence attracts other members. A village can fail (*kutobeka*, break) if its numbers fall below the legal minimum and it is therefore incumbent on lineage members to buttress the headmanship and retain it as an attribute of the lineage. But another factor of importance is that one assumes (*a priori*) that people will expect better protection from kinsmen than from others.

Although a husband lives initially in the village of his wife's mother, this is the rule only for a few years until the husband is 'accustomed'. The awkward situation in which residence, often next door to the wife's mother, goes hand in hand with avoidance of her, gradually eases until finally after the birth of children the ceremony of *kwingishya* (entering-in) puts an end to the avoidance. More than that, it allows the husband to go and live with his wife in whichever village he wants. Figures indicate that virilocality and uxorilocality are fairly even balanced.¹

¹ Out of 100 marriages in five villages in the metropolitan chiefdom, 37 were virilocal and 31 uxorilocal; in 32 both spouses had connections. Since these figures include recent marriages on which uxorilocality is enjoined, they

Villages vary greatly in age. Thus given the amount of movement of individuals through villages it might be expected that a developmental sequence of village structure might be apparent from an analysis of villages of different ages.¹ I am not prepared to state this is the case for the Luapula. Other factors are involved, such as the position of the village with reference to economic and other activities, or its past vicissitudes in times of military action. Nevertheless it can be shown that villages of varying degrees of structural complexity do exist.

The village of MUYEBA is of simple composition. It was placed



suggest that there may be a tendency to move to the husband's village after he has been 'accustomed' to his affines.

¹ Cf. Mitchell, *The Yao Village*, pp. 212, etc.

for political reasons by a chief on the northern border of his country. It was founded in 1938 and since then its composition has hardly changed. The position has little attraction; newcomers have not sought residence in it. The inhabitants of the five houses are all close kinsmen of the headman, related as shown in the diagram. In this village, residents were of the headman's lineage, apart from his own children and the spouses who had married in.

Another village of simple composition gives a lead to more complex ones. In this village, *PIBLE*, situated 'in the bush', the headman settled with his wife and a descent group of which she, not he, was the centre: her sister, sister's husband and their children, and the spouses of these children. The sister's husband was of the same clan, although not of the same lineage, as the headman. Although small groups of close matrilineal relatives tend to form in villages, the headman may be only indirectly linked to these groups.

The village of Chomba was founded in 1945. The headman belongs to the Otter Clan. Before 1945 he had connections with kinsmen in a Goat Clan village a few miles away, in which there had been a number of Otter Clansmen. These became numerous and decided to break away. They chose as their leader Chomba who had married out in another village. This man begged a site to build on from Kazembe. The village still consists almost entirely of the original inhabitants with spouses who have married since then. The village consists of 43 houses; in 29 of these either the husband or the wife is a member of the Otter Clan and of the lineage of Chomba. On the genealogy given me, the founder of the lineage is said to have been three generations back from headman Chomba, and the Otter Clan members of the village are all descendants of the founder's sisters. One of the 'sisters' however is said to have been only a 'clan' sister and not a 'lineage' sister; nevertheless her descendants are now regarded as full members of the lineage.

Of the married couples living there, of which one spouse belongs to the lineage, 15 are in the village because of the husband's link with the lineage, and 14 because of the wife's. Of the remaining houses, three belong to the children of Chomba and of Chomba's younger brother. One belongs to Chomba's sister's son's son. One belongs to the sister's son of the husband of an Otter Clan woman (this man is a *cikolwe* of the Iron Clan). Six

houses belong to Chafukuma, a man who married the mother's brother's daughter of Chomba and to his five children (these children are called *bepwa*, nephews, of Chomba although they do not belong to his lineage). The other two houses belong to men who have joined the village since its formation, and whose kinship relationships with the headman are weak; one is a man whose grandfather, a village headman, became *bakulu banabo* (parents of spouses) with Chomba; his daughter married Chomba's son. This relationship is one of special camaraderie. The other house belongs to a man whose father was of the same clan as Chomba's father: that is to say, they were clan 'brothers', both being 'sons' of the same clan.

The remaining members of Chomba's lineage are spread far and wide over the country. Groups of them are concentrated in some places. The descendants of a sister of Chomba who married in the chiefdom of LUBUNDA 60 miles upstream remained with her husband who is the village headman there. Descendants of some mothers' sisters of Chomba live on the Kalungwisi River 80 miles to the north, having remained there since the lineage first migrated from Tabwa country. This part of the lineage is on the way to becoming independent; for although visits are still exchanged and a representative is sent when the report of a death is received, it is not possible for all the affairs of that section to be transmitted to and discussed with Chomba. A few other members of the lineage are married in scattered villages from Johnston Falls to Lake Mweru.

As an example of a village of greater complexity I take the Leopard Clan village of KASEBULA, whose lineage is discussed above. The headman is a Lunda, but the village contains strong Chishinga elements. The fact that this village lies only about a mile from the capital has undoubtedly affected its make-up, for some who might otherwise have lived in the village have been attracted to the capital for the amenities available there. Its population has also been affected by the existence nearby of an unpopular headman. But neither of these facts necessarily make the kind of composition atypical.

A chart of the village appears opposite. It can be readily divided into groups of close kinsmen; some of these groups have corporate status by being known as the *citente* or section of the man who is its nominal leader. In analysing the composition it is easier and

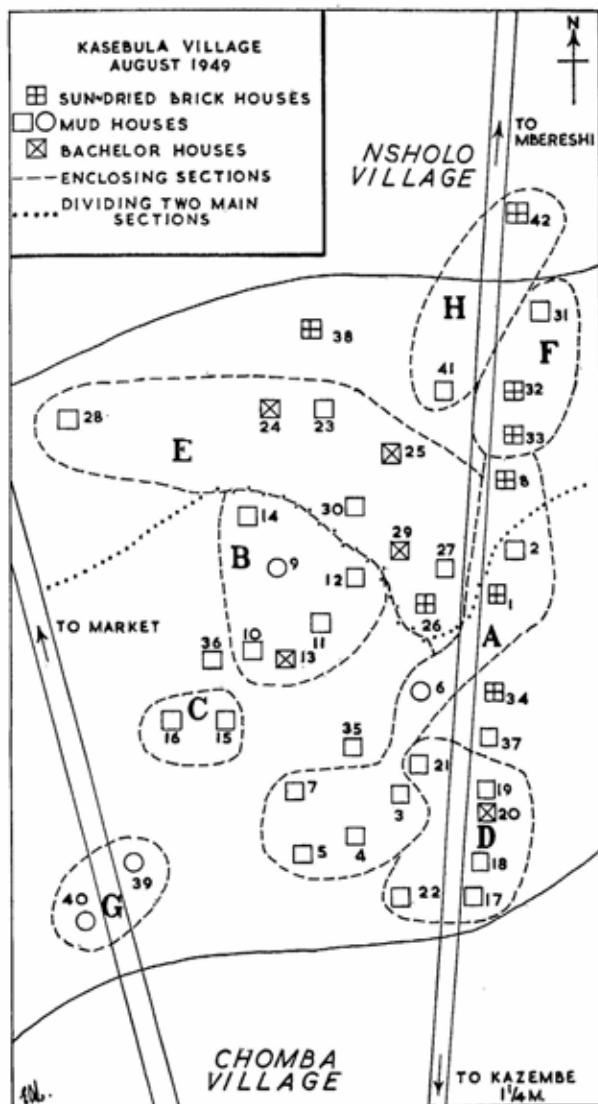


DIAGRAM V.

more meaningful not to relate all the inhabitants to the headman, but to the person in virtue of whom they are living in the village: for this village well illustrates the loose bonds of kinship often existing between a headman and the leaders of sections.

Section A is there by virtue of membership of KASEBULA's lineage, or kinship with the headman. I list the inhabitants of the houses (excluding children) according to their relationship with the headman.¹

- | | |
|---------|---|
| House 1 | W |
| 2 | W |
| 3 | MMMMZDDDD with her husband |
| 4 | MMMMZDDDD |
| 5 | MMMMZDDDD with her husband |
| 6 | MMMMZDDDSW |
| 7 | MMMMZDDDD with her husband who is also
MMMMZDDSS |
| 8 | WMZD with her husband |

In this group, the only houses not containing a member of the headman's lineage are nos. 6 and 8. The woman in 6 was the widow of the brother of the woman in 3. She remained in this village to be beside the husband in 3 who is also her clan-mate. She was inherited by the man who took the headmanship in 1949 although she did not live with him: at the time he continued to live elsewhere. The woman in house 8 is there by virtue of her relationship with the headman's wife in house 2.

Section B is known as Matungu's Section, Matungu being the husband in house 9; but since the section again consists mainly of members of the headman's lineage I give members' relationships to the headman.

- | | |
|---------|--------------------------------------|
| House 9 | MMMMZDDDD with her husband, Matungu. |
| 11 | MMMMZDDDD with her husband |
| 12 | MMMMZDDDD with her husband |
| 13 | MMMMZDDDS |
| 14 | MMMMZDDDD with her husband |
| 10 | Z and MZD of Matungu. |

¹ The relationships are with those of the headman who died in 1949. There were no immediate changes in composition when the new headman was installed. For abbreviations see Table VII, p. 102.

The woman in house 9 is the maternal half-sister of the woman in house 3. Later in life she married Matungu, the ex-headman of a nearby village. Matungu as headman had been very ill and supposed that he had been bewitched by someone of another clan in his village. He gave up his headmanship and because of Leopard Clan links on his mother's father's side, found a refuge with KASEBULA. There he married his present wife, whose first husband had died and who had divorced his successor. The women in house 10 were old and followed Matungu to be cared for. Houses 11 and 12 contain the daughter and granddaughter of Matungu's wife; houses 13 and 14 contain the son and daughter of a sister of Matungu's wife.

Section C consists of the headman's children:

- House 15 D and her husband
- 16 S and his wife.

These three groups constitute the close relatives of the headman in the village. Members of the headman's father's lineage are absent, although more distant members of this clan are present in other sections. Of the members of the headman's own lineage present, all belong to the junior of the two houses of the lineage. The original KASEBULA belonged to the junior house, being the son of the younger of two sisters whose descendants compose the lineage. The headman who died in 1949 belonged to the senior house, but his predecessors had belonged to the junior; likewise his successor belongs to the junior house. Those members of the lineage who reside there constitute only a small and fairly closely related group within the lineage, nor are their relationships with previous headmen particularly close although they are of the same house. Most of the other members of the lineage live in the capital of Kazembe with the two remaining most important elders of the lineage. The much smaller, senior, house is represented by the headman of a small village who, however, has none of his lineage living with him.

The members of the sections listed above have all some stake in the village: for the village belongs to the lineage of most of them; and the father of those in section C is the headman. The remainder have no direct kin-based interest in the village: their interest is residential. They form, as it were, elements of a floating population: as it happens, they have all come to the village since 1940,

replacing other groups of the same kind which had left and gone elsewhere.

Section D lives close among the groups of the headman's kinsmen. The actual link is tenuous. The wife of Sibupe, the husband in house 17, told me that her father had said that if ever she found herself in difficulties she should go and live in the village of KASEBULA, who was his clan-mate, although of a different lineage. After marrying she lived with her husband in a number of villages in which their children died young. The woman minded her father's advice and settled in KASEBULA, where they prospered. Later, her husband's mother's sister's son saw they were living there comfortably, and followed them since he had also suffered much illness, and his children had died. The section is now known as the section of this cousin, Munungwe, who is genealogically the senior. The remainder of the section is composed of the offspring of these two 'brothers'. Here the link with the headman is through the wife of Sibupe, but the relationships are most directly given to Sibupe himself as follows:

- | | |
|----------|-----------------------------|
| House 17 | Sibupe and his wife |
| 18 | WZ |
| 19 | MZS (Munungwe) and his wife |
| 20 | MZSS |
| 21 | MZSD and her husband |
| 22 | D and her husband. |

Section E is known in the village as the section of the Mushroom Clansmen, Bena Bowa. The first of these to come to the village was the husband in house 23 whose paternal half-brother had become a 'brother' in friendship to a former KASEBULA. This man, Solo, fled from the eternal squabbles and fighting in a nearby village, and soon he was followed by his two brothers who had been living there with him. They also brought their mother and sister, both widows; and a woman, also a widow, whom they had always helped since she was *mwali* (member of a joking clan) to them. The two houses in which these women live constitute Section G, which is spatially separate. The reason they live apart is that as the village gradually moved to the main road two suitable houses became vacant, and they installed themselves in them. The rest of Section E is made up of the children of the group of brothers, and another clanswoman, the second wife of a man in the

next village who built in Section E to be beside her clansfellows. Relationships are here given to Solo:

- House 23 Solo and his wife
- 24 S
- 25 D and her husband
- 26 B and his wife
- 27 BWD and her husband
- 28 B and his wife
- 29 BS
- 30 Clan 'sister';

and group G, also in relationship to Solo, is as follows:

- House 39 M and Z
- 40 *Mwali* (clan joking relative) (female).

In Section F, the man in house 31 was the first to settle in the village, and did so in virtue of the fact that he is a clansman of KASEBULA's father, but not of the same lineage. Later his friend in house 32 followed him; apart from being good friends they are fellow-clansmen. The rest of the group is made up of close relatives of the man in house 32:

- House 31 'father' of the headman
- 32 clansman of man in 31
- 33 Z of man in 32
- 34 Z (also WBW) and her husband (also WB)
- 35 ZS and his wife
- 36 D and her husband.

The inhabitants of houses 37 and 38 cannot conveniently be placed in groups. The former is clan 'father' of the headman with his wife; the other is clan 'brother'; in both cases the lineages are different.

Group H unites the clan 'sister' of the headman with her full sister who lives nearby in the next village.

What I want to bring to notice in this village is the way in which the headman, emphatically, is not the centre of a closely knit group of kinsmen. He has his kinship role mainly in respect of the members of his own lineage; and of course in respect to his children: in all, sections A, B and C. As for the rest of the groups, his kinship link with them may be so remote as to be virtually

non-existent. Group D is linked through the wife in house 17 remotely; but the rest of that group is related primarily not to her but to her husband. The leader of group E is connected with the headman only through the link that his half-brother was a 'brother' in friendship to KASEBULA's predecessor; the rest of the group is in close relationship with him. Group F's leader is clan 'father' of the headman but the rest of the group is made up not of his relatives but by those of his friend and fellow-clansman in house 32. Thus close groups of mainly matrilineal kinsmen exist in the villages; but these are there by virtue of their relationships to the leaders of the sections: the leaders themselves may have a very remote link with the headmanship or the lineage which 'owns' the village.

Although few of the headman's lineage in the village are genealogically close they are socially one house and the women in houses 3 and 9 are regarded as close sisters of the headman although in fact they are his fourth cousins.¹ These two women are themselves half-sisters with the same mother. The elder is the woman in house 9, and she enjoys an important though informal status as senior woman in the village. No special name is attached to this role which however seems to exist in most villages. She takes upon herself the task of organizing the household duties which arise from the reception of important visitors; she is sometimes regarded as the senior *nacimbusa* of the girls in the village; and she is usually asked to express her views in any suits affecting the lineage. On the death of one such woman villagers remarked that the village had 'died', as they would do on the death of a headman.

On the chart a major division is indicated running across the village. The word *citente* is used, informally, for the sections I have mentioned, but outside its formal use as a section of a chief's capital, its application is relative. In KASEBULA's village, the groups to the south of the line were regarded as one *citente* as distinct from the groups to the north of the line. I myself being identified with Section A found difficulty in persuading members of Sections E, F and H to visit me, although I was on friendly terms with my

¹ The relationships given are to the actual position of the headman on the genealogy; not to the position which he inherited. Likewise the relationship is calculated from the actual and not the inherited positions of village members.

neighbours of Section G. Although children played together, it was as if a wall existed down the village, across which even gossip passed with difficulty. In the 1949 dry season the dichotomy became very marked: the men from Sections A, B, C and D went together to a fishing camp by Kampemba Lagoon in the Congo (with the exception of one man who preferred lake fishing): while all the rest went to Kamaundu Lagoon on the Rhodesian side.

This division marks off, fairly neatly though not precisely, the headman's lineage from the rest of the village. This is on the one hand a division between the representatives of the owning lineage and those whose kinship bonds with the headmanship are weaker; and on the other hand a division between those who are likely to live permanently in the village and those who are birds of passage; who have no direct ties of kinship to make them reside there, but who have sought in this village rather than in any other village for the time being a prosperous base for their activities. In this village and in some others (I do not know how general the custom is) a special graveyard is reserved for those members of the headman's lineage who die in the village. The correlation here is not exact, since one might expect Section D, distant in kinship terms, to be aligned with the northern *citente*. But when one takes into account certain parts of the village rituals, in which the owning lineage is treated separately from the strangers, and the motives behind the moves from village to village, the arrangement is seen to be more than coincidental.

The Village as a Unit

Although villages as political units of one name are stable and there are villages which have retained their identity for at least two centuries, the component members are constantly changing. They do not change only with the death of old and the birth of new members. Villages are unstable in that inhabitants for one reason or another are dissatisfied with life and move to some other village, while others are dissatisfied elsewhere and move in. In the village of KASEBULA, as we saw, groups D to H had moved in since 1940, while other groups had moved out. Only the groups immediately round the headman had remained constant, but even within them personnel had to some extent changed; what had endured was the presence of some lineage members. What sort of

a unit then does the village represent? In what is its unity expressed? The common thread in the villages considered above is the association of the owning lineage with the name of the village through time.

I have already pointed out that the mode of livelihood allows for the existence of villages of substantial size. But it cannot be said that the village is essential to the main economic activities of the people: economic life is not dependent on corporate activities on the village level, and rights in fishing and agricultural areas are atomized to the individual. In a few places the members of a village unite in certain economic activities, but this is a convenience rather than a rigid necessity. They may unite to clear a channel through grasses to running water, to surround an area of gardens with a ditch against animals; to cut a path to the village watering-place. Because people live in villages chiefs call upon tribute labour by villages. The common economic activities are initiated by headmen and in this way the position of the headman is used to the advantage of his villagers generally. Apart from the advantage there is no reward, except perhaps beer at the headman's expense at the end. Lesser instances where co-operation is needed may find helpers from within or outside the village; a rich man asks for help to weed his garden and the opportunity for gain is open to all. Fishermen from a village may set up a camp in one place but this does not mean that all members of the village are constrained to go there, nor does it preclude friends, relatives or strangers from elsewhere joining in to build the same camp.

If the village is not an economic unit, it is not a kinship unit either. Young people seek advice on domestic matters not primarily from the village headman but from the leader of their section who may, incidentally, be village headman. But to some respect unity does appear in domestic arrangements. Children up to the age of ten live with their grandparents but normally return at that time to the village of their parents, the boys to build bachelor huts, the girls to sleep in kitchens or in houses of older unmarried widowed or divorced women. Play-groups are formed by village children in the village. Village girls band together to play *kubuta*: older girls each adopt a 'daughter' from among the younger and teach them to cook outside. Again *banacimbusa* (midwives and instructresses of girls at puberty, marriage and childbirth) are taken from among the older women of the

village, whatever may be their relationship to the girl. A boy on marriage chooses his intermediary, for making arrangements with his in-laws, from among the more distantly related members of his village. When twins are born the parents go around the village from house to house demanding presents. Generally there is a separate graveyard for each village (in addition to that of the owning lineage).

To outsiders members of one village tend to be regarded as kin, and are associated with the clan of the headman, although it is widely known that each village contains representatives of many different tribes, clans and lineages. These social elements are present in the idea of village unity. A person can be described as *Mwina Kasebula*, a person of KASEBULA, which is both the village as a place and the name of its headman. The garden of any member of the village can be described as 'the gardens of KASEBULA', and so on.

These points exemplify the cardinal fact here, that it is by his village that a man identifies himself politically. The village, or the section of the chief's capital, is the smallest political unit and for this reason it is the most exact definition he can give of himself to strangers and to the Administration. This importance is nowadays enhanced: to identify himself to the Administration a man gives name and village; and he carries these labels about with him on his identity card. All dealings with the chiefs go by way of village headmen. Thus the headman should take litigants to court. If the chief has announcements to make to his people or if there is an important visitor headmen are called and have to hand on the information to their villagers. A chief requiring tribute calls for it by villages; the headman leads those bearing it to the capital. Tribute labour, likewise, is sought through headmen. But here it has to be stressed that the headman does not have control over all aspects of his villagers' lives. A villager may not refuse to pay tax or tribute through his headman; he must recognize his headman as his political superior and as a sort of policeman who can report him for keeping unhygienic houses, for rowdiness or for undue drunkenness. But political authority is limited in scope. It is the more limited here, in fact, firstly because the village under the headman has no control of cultivable or fishing ground; and secondly because so many members are relative strangers and do not look to the headman for advice or authority in matters solely

in the sphere of domestic life. Nor, it might be added, has the headman authority as priest to the ancestors of the village community. The Christian God in as many forms as there are missions has taken their place; nor in the old days did the headman's worshipping or sacrifice bring particular blessing upon the stranger groups living with him. As a family affair, the worship of a group of ancestors brought benefit only to a section of the village. Perhaps most important in the Luapula headman's negative attributes is the fact that although he has temporary command of the people living at any time in his village they have the ultimate sanction in their own hands. They can move out. And the last thing that a headman wants is for his village to dwindle.

Desiderata of Village Life

It has become clear that a large proportion of village inhabitants are not permanent residents. They shift about frequently from village to village. The unit which does this is the household of married couples and children who happen to be with them. It may happen that larger groups move together, and a group sufficiently large may take the additional step of establishing a village on its own account. But without the decision of individual households this step would not be possible.

What do people seek in their movements from village to village? In brief, they seek a village which, in their own experience, is healthy, harmonious, free from sorcery and premature death, and where they prosper. But behind these virtues of the ideal village lies a mystical control: the headman's medicines. A village is good or bad, a headman popular or unpopular, according to his efficiency at maintaining the village medicines; the measure of his skill in them is the way that any resident prospers under them.

As I have already pointed out, it is taken for granted that the place in which people live is the village; for Luapula residents life in isolated homesteads scattered through the bush is not to be thought of. No doubt historical and sociological reasons for this exist. It is also the way in which all the neighbouring tribes live. But for the individual the question remains which village is he to choose as his home.

A headman's medicines are directed towards the prosperity of the village members, their increase, and the warding off of sor-

cery; and one part of them, the calabash, serves to purify the villagers on certain specific occasions, as death in the village, or the killing by a village member of a mystically dangerous animal.¹ Sorcery is mainly regarded as responsible for misfortunes that befall villagers. A sorcerer can send sickness and death directly; other troubles such as quarrelling are held to be indirectly related to sorcery since jealousy lies behind quarrels, and sorcery goes with jealousy. The same ceremony at the foundation of a village² links village expansion with protection against sorcery: the headman takes a number of medicated pegs and hammers them into the ground some distance around the nucleus of the village. The medicine should have two effects: to make the village expand, by the addition of many houses, to the boundary so marked; and to keep sorcery (and with it animals like snakes, lions and hyenas) outside this boundary. The other important ritual at the foundation of the village, or when it shifts, is the planting of the *nshipa*, which also contains both anti-sorcery medicine and medicine for the headman's popularity. The *nshipa* is named also *ciito ca bantu*—'calling people (to the village)' and is widely known to include a charm from the honey-guide bird which attracts men to follow them to wild honey.

Villagers expect protection from these and other medicines. The misfortunes they meet in their domestic life in the village can be accounted for by the failure of the headman's *nshipa*,³ which has not been strong enough to counter the effects of sorcery, or of his calabash, which has failed in its purifying capacity.

Mystical harm is caused on the Luapula by sorcery and not by witchcraft.⁴ The sorcerer himself has to manipulate medicines to cause harm; and most often he has to present himself at the victim's house, by night. It is said thus that sorcery can be

¹ I have described the medicines in detail in my article 'Ritual and the Headmanship of Luapula Villages'; to which the reader is referred for fuller treatment of the subject matter of this and the next section. I am grateful to the editor of *Africa* for permission to reproduce some material from that article in this chapter.

² The ritual of *kukomo lukomo*.

³ More general misfortunes, like prolonged drought, or severe gales, have different causes and preventatives: see chapter VIII.

⁴ But for convenience I use the verb 'to bewitch' in the sense of 'to attack with sorcery'.

expected only from people in the same village or neighbouring villages. With one exception, I could find no particular category of kin who were regularly thought to be sorcerers. Generally anyone from the neighbourhood harbouring jealousy was a possible sorcerer. The exception is sorcery within the lineage, which goes with rivalry for the tenure of the office of headmanship. As I suggested earlier there appears to be today at any rate difficulty in finding out, and reluctance to take action against, a sorcerer. Against this very generalized kind of enemy, the headman's magic has an important role to play.

The headman for his part has cause to look after his villagers well. He has to intervene wisely in those disputes which come to his notice, and carry out other practical tasks which make for the well-being of his village. A headman can lose followers through his own bad character, but if in spite of his general efficiency and common sense his village is troubled, it is said he has bad medicines or is not looking after them properly. His interest is not only to keep his villagers contented with him; it is also to attract others to his village. Putting it another way, on the one hand he does not want his villagers to join other headmen, and he does want people to come from other headmen to join him. He takes steps to effect both of these by his ritual. He is thus, in these terms, wooing his villagers at the same time as he is exhibiting hostility to other headmen. His village can only expand at the expense of other villages. I have heard the ritual of planting the *nshipa* described as 'bewitching the country'; for the headman is planting medicine not only for the prosperity of himself and his followers, but also for the harm of other headmen and of their followers since these will only change their residence if misfortune has first befallen them.

The medicines for the prosperity of the village are impartial. They do not work better against sorcery attacking one group than sorcery attacking another group within the village. Thus the headman cannot discriminate against certain people through them. In some of the ritual the villagers themselves have to partake, and do so willingly for it is to the benefit of them all. It becomes apparent that one important way in which the village exhibits unity is through the ritual. Residence in a village imposes certain obligations upon villagers when they are living in it. They cannot refuse tax or tribute; they have to recognize the headman as their



(a) When a new purifying calabash is installed in a village women sweep their hearths at sunrise and take the ashes to a cross-paths to the west. The magician gives them medicated water for replastering their hearths.



(b) The magician (left) lights new fire with grass from a moles' nest, symbolizing safety. The headman has brought sticks to give new fire to the women of the village. Calabashes hang over the fire on a forked stick.

PLATE XI

RITUALIZATION OF THE HEARTH



political superior. But likewise a man when he comes to a village binds himself to observe the ritual taboos and prescriptions imposed upon villagers on certain occasions. If a man dies in the village it is not incumbent on a resident to attend the mourning ceremony unless he is a close kinsman. Yet ritually the death affects everyone, for all have to take part in the taboos and to be cleansed of the death. Again on the installation of a new headman it is not essential for everyone to attend and lecture the new man on headmanship, although this is the custom; but ritually all must partake by leaving the village bounds when the 'village pot' is put on the fire for the first time. Co-residence forces villagers into corporate action, and the sanction against neglect is misfortune to the village as a whole.

Moves from village to village are made for the most part by individual families. In the village of KASEBULA, it was in this way that the members of all the smaller sections were built up: first one man coming to try the village out, followed later by others of his kinsmen when he found it successful. The ritual also stresses the household as the basic unit. In village ritual the things that are ritualized are marital intercourse, fires and cooking.¹ These are elements which are especially associated with the household of a man and his wife. From the point of view of the ritual the married households appear as units of equal status in the composition of the village. Youths and old people are to a great extent excluded from the ritual. The emphasis is on the village as a collection of domestic units based on marital relationships and symbolized by their essential elements, fire and sex. It is these homes which are the mobile units; at the same time they form the basis of the village since they are the most satisfactory self-contained economic units. Each of these households is independent in that it is at liberty to leave the village and settle elsewhere; but during its residence it is bound to other like units by equal participation in a common ritual.

Lineage Ownership of the Village

In some respects there is a clear distinction between those members of the village who are strangers and those who belong to the lineage with which the village is associated (above, p. 133). While

¹ See my article, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7, 12, 13.

in general the ritual protection works evenly throughout the village, the death of the headman or of his wife is followed by ritual in which the owning lineage is clearly set apart from the strangers. The owning lineage elders, whether or not they live in the village, are responsible for the ritual in these occasions, and they alone are present in the village when the 'village pot' is placed on the fire for the first time.¹ Other residents go outside the village boundaries and wait impatiently in the bitter cold of dawn while the lineage elders share a meal cooked in the pot. It is on this occasion that the ultimate controllers of the village are best evident. This lineage affair is carried out with no one else present in the village, which is left free and uncontaminated for the lineage elders to 'warm' effectively with this ritual cooking. At the installation of headman KASEBULA, the whole matter of succession was ordered by two other elders of the Leopard Clan of the same lineage who lived in the capital of Kazembe.

But this lineage is to some extent dependent on that of the headman's wife. The ritual for the village depends as much on her as it does on him, for together they make the *nshipa* and the purifying calabash effective. Without this marital relationship there can be no village so long as ritual is its mainstay. On his wife's death, the headman has to wait for a successor from her lineage before he can make the medicines effective again, for he may not remarry without her. The other role that her lineage has is to provide a caretaker after the death of the headman. It is the headman's own lineage who make this appointment; and they do so explicitly for the reason that the person appointed must not be in a position later to usurp the headmanship. This is an important point when it is remembered that the headman's sons, of his wife's (or his wives') clan, often live in the village. The importance of the wife's lineage is evident here, and also the fact that it is ineligible for the office of headmanship.

In the choice of a headman, there is initial discussion among members of the lineage; and when decisions are coming to a point, a meeting is called at a house in the village. Lineage elders attend, and members of the lineage resident in the village. But the stranger elements do not attend. They have no great interest in doing so. This is a private, family matter for the lineage con-

¹ Op. cit., p. 12.

cerned; it is not their affair. Neighbouring headmen attend on this occasion (see next section). Strangers in the village are in no position to take steps either to elect a headman, or to have a headman deposed who is unsatisfactory to them. The only step which they can take if they are dissatisfied is to move out. This is a point which is regularly made to a novice headman. KASEBULA was told the moment he was appointed that if he did not act well as headman many people would leave him; and the heads of all the stranger sections of the village were listed. This is the burden of most of the speeches made to him at this time and 'You're going to break the village, what are we going to do?' is a song sung on the occasion.

The owning lineage provides the stable element in the village. Although the actual members of a lineage present in the village may change, some are always there and the name of the village and of the headmanship belongs to the lineage. This group is marked off from the strangers who are liable to shift from village to village so frequently that in KASEBULA, for instance, the only villagers who had resided there ten years previously were members of the owning lineage: the strangers had all come since then. In effect therefore, in a mixed village like KASEBULA (and villages consisting of only one lineage are uncommon) there are two permanent elements: the headman and his lineage on the one hand; and on the other the relation between them and the strangers present. No matter if these strangers change, the dichotomy is always present.

Some Inter-village Relations

For Central Africa it has been suggested that 'the political systems of these people [is] rooted in the self-assertion of villages, the smallest corporate groups, against one another'.¹ The existence of the dichotomy between owners and strangers allows great play to the rivalry of headmen with each other. Kazembe has 315 villages north of Johnston Falls, and the headman of each of them is competing for the favours of any of their inhabitants to come and reside with him. The strangers in a village have no ties of any ultimate importance with the headman they are living with for

¹ Gluckman *et al.*, 'The Village Headman in British Central Africa', p. 93.

the time being. They are dependent on him for nothing. They can get as much out of any other headman as they can from him. In addition to the normal strains one would expect to arise in life in a compact village, and which would make people want to leave, there is the additional fact that misfortunes of many kinds are set down not to chance but to the inefficiency of the headman's medicines; and these can therefore also be made a reason for leaving the village. To leave a village does not necessarily mean a great misfortune. Even if one is bewitched by someone in the neighbourhood, it may be necessary only to go to the next village: the headman here may have medicine strong enough to counteract the sorcery. It is in fact common practice for a sick person to be moved to relatives in a nearby village to try the effect of a different village medicine on the disease. One can always fall back on the village of one's own lineage, if such exists. Failing that, some remote tie of kinship may be invoked as sufficient reason to settle in one village or another.

Conflict between headmen seldom comes into the open: few headmen accuse others of trying to steal their villagers by sorcery. The only instance which I came across concerned KASEBULA himself, who was accused by a nearby headman of stealing his villagers. In fact many of his villagers had come from the village of the other headman. Kazembe, who despises the ritual of the smaller villages, blamed the complainant for being quarrelsome. Yet all headmen are sorcerers: this is the common estimation. Success in all spheres is obtainable only through sorcery. The higher in political rank, the greater a sorcerer one is. A headman must have got his office through sorcery: this means that he has used his sorcery to kill off a previous incumbent or to kill rivals; or else it means that he is known to be a sorcerer, and this may act as a threat that if he is not appointed, then the one who is will die. Moreover headmen are known to use medicines—those of the village—and although some of these may be regarded as good medicines, others are bad in that they are directed to harm others in their course of doing good to himself and his village. To make the equal ritual status of headmen more evident, they all get their medicines from the same six or seven magicians. Most of these are themselves headmen of long-standing villages. Headmen thus vie with one another for followers with the same, or similar medicines.

The relationships between headmen are noticeably friendly when they meet in public, and there are many occasions when neighbouring headmen have to meet for various duties. These are now more frequent since the establishment of an administrative 'parish' system in the valley shortly before I left: a parish consists of a group of four or five villages with one of the headmen elected by the male members of the parish as its head. I did not have occasion to see the system properly in action. But one important duty of headmen is at the choice and installation of a neighbouring headman in office. At the choice, it is they who are witnesses to the choice of the lineage elders, and who sometimes themselves add their voice to the deliberations. When the choice is made it is they who take the new headman and show him to the chief or to Kazembe. If there has been bitterness over the succession they can present to the authorities a balanced view of the affair.

There are other kinds of positive links between village headmen, and between villages. Headmen of the same tribe recognize brotherhood among themselves, saying they are *lupwa lumu*, one family. Links of this kind are strong among Tabwa, among Shila and among Lunda particularly. Another such link is the perpetual kinship of a group of headmen. MUMBOLO was the first to build, in the 1890s, on the Mulele stream. His village expanded and in time various relatives broke off to form other villages nearby. These headmen broke away at various times, each taking his relationship from the MUMBOLO who was headman at the time of the break-away; and these relationships persisted; and they persist so long as they are near enough each other to be in occasional intercourse. It is to be noted that headmen who arise in this way have relationships not only of lineage, but also of affinal kinship with the original headman: perpetual kinship works additionally through any line, when some event of importance has emphasized the significance of the link between two persons concerned. The break-away of a group of kinsmen to form their own village is an event of sufficient significance to allow the kinship links between them to be perpetuated. All these headmen are not regarded as *cikolwes* but having become headmen their names will not die out until the villages themselves are broken. Perhaps in time all or many will become *cikolwes* in their own right, of lineages which they themselves will have originated. Thus at the present stage,

not only the headmen of MUMBOLO's own lineage, but also those of his affines still discuss affairs with MUMBOLO. This is because they are comparative newcomers to the valley, and MUMBOLO is the most important close relative they know.

Another device linking villages and headmen is the classification of kin. A man is 'brother' to unknown members of his clan and 'son' to members of his father's clan.¹ This is true for village headmen as for everyone else. Members of one village become identified with the headman and his lineage. This is so only in a broad sense. Of a village, it might be said: 'the people there are Lion Clansmen', although the speaker must be aware of the existence of many clans in the village. A headman also speaks of the village in this way, identifying it with himself. KASEBULA is of the Leopard Clan. His neighbouring headman, NSHOLO, is a 'son' of the Leopard Clan, this being his father's clan. This fact allowed KASEBULA to say: 'The village of NSHOLO is my son'. From this position a close friendship was established between the two headmen in spite of the difference in rank: KASEBULA, a Lunda, a royal gravekeeper, a name of long standing; NSHOLO, a newcomer, a Lungu of no other political importance. This 'kinship' between villages gives rise to no special rights or obligations. It affords simply the knowledge of kinship. It is so tenuous that it is overridden by the more tangible kinship relationships which may exist between their inhabitants.

Nearly every pair of villages in the country can be linked together in this way, through the clan connections of one of the successive headmen of one village with one of the successive headmen of the other. But headmen see little point in finding what the relationship is unless the villages are already in contact for some other reason: whether of neighbourhood, of much intermarriage, of acquaintance, etc. Headman KASEBULA once entertained me while walking through the forest by relating the name of every village in the valley from south to north in order. Among these there was a mere handful with which he did not boast some kind of kinship or affinity. But it requires constant meeting and discussion before this kinship comes to have an emotional content: in the first place it has to be constantly mentioned and traced out. It arises only to enhance relationships of some other kind already in

¹ See above, p. 62.

existence, to translate political or other kinds of relationship into the more intimate one of blood.

I discuss later some of the inter-village links which arise from common residence in chiefdoms, and, more recently, in parishes. Headmen of villages in these units know one another well. In parishes and chiefdoms they have frequent discussion of administrative and other problems. Links of this kind are strong in a densely populated country where kinship has little basis in locality.

A Luapula village is a temporary association of people for the purpose of habitation. Membership carries with it a few political, ritual and economic obligations. There is a striking contrast between (on the one hand) the longevity of a village under one name, its continued association with a lineage, and its comparative permanence on one site; and (on the other) its changing composition from year to year. At the same time its structure is stable to the extent that a cleavage in kinship and interest always exists (except in the smallest villages) between members of the owning lineage and the others, the strangers.

In a specific kinship study it would be necessary to look more closely into the domestic arrangements of a village than has been done here. But one of the important features which emerges from our short analysis is the extent of the mobility of individual households; and the autonomy of the household was also found to be emphatically represented in village ritual. Household autonomy gives the Luapula village its special character of flux. This points up another contrast: this is the contrast of the actual composition of a village in terms of clan and tribe, and the composition imputed to it by outsiders for whom villagers are of the clan and tribe to which its headman is known to belong. Villages then are seen as fixed points associated with particular clans, lineages and tribes, distributed along the valley floor. When Kazembe receives tribute from a village with a Chishinga headman of the Drum Clan, it is the Bena Chishinga, or the Drum Clan, who bring him tribute, regardless of the actual providers and bearers of it. This is not to say that personal statuses are totally submerged in the headman's status; it is that in some situations they are. The headman is known to everyone; the composition of his village is not. If villages are seen as fixed points associated with clans, lineages and tribes, inter-village relations

likewise provide fixed lines of relationship of these groups among themselves and between these groups and the kingship. Actual kinsmen are widely scattered; the close cluster of village houses gives to a lineage a focus of interest while to outsiders it affords a place on the ground closely associated with the owning lineage.

CHAPTER VI

THE LUNDA

History and the Kingship

OF the groups of immigrants mentioned in Chap. II, it was the Lunda (under the leadership of Kazembe) who became politically supreme. In the way the tribes are characterized, just as the Shila are the fishermen, and the Lungu are the millet-cultivators, so the Lunda are the rulers. As those occupied in fishing are classed as *baShila* so those occupied in ruling are classed as *baLunda*. A Lungu told me: 'In a suit, we accept the judgment of the Lunda for they are our great rulers'; and whether the assessors of a court are themselves Lunda or of another tribe, it is as Lunda that they pass judgment. Likewise those of Kazembe's capital, and citizens of other chiefs' capitals, are often classified crudely as Lunda. The Lunda thus are not only those associated closely with government, but also those who form the retinue of Kazembe and the chiefs. For instance, at the burial of Kazembe, at two points on the route to the grave the royal gravekeepers, who are in a sense representative of the dead Kazembes, attack with switches what they call 'the Lunda'—in this case those who are following the bier to the graveside. In point of fact the 'real' Lunda—the aristocrats—are not present on this occasion, and the retinue is composed of interested citizens of the capital, and those who have joined the procession from the villages it has passed through.

At this point I adopt a somewhat different approach. This study is not primarily concerned with the kingship, but it is necessary to connect clan, lineage, tribe, village, etc., with kingship as we have already connected them with kinship, descent and residence. The kingship is a particular attribute of the Lunda and for this reason the Lunda will receive more specific treatment than the other tribes.

The Lunda are also in a special position. They share some of the characteristics of other tribes: they look out to their 'home' in the South-West Congo; they have their own dialect and their own body of custom. In this respect the Lunda are one of many tribes in the valley, and participate in tribal divisions. But the custom

which particularly defines Lundahood is that they are rulers. In the past the kingship was of great power, and today the king is the Senior Native Authority and representative of the Northern Rhodesia Government. At the same time the kingship remains the centre of the traditional value system in the political life of the people. So while Lundahood clearly distinguishes a Lunda from others, yet the specific task of Lundahood is the unifying one of government.

In view of their politically unique position, it may be expected that the Lunda have a type of organization which differs in many respects from that of the other tribes present, all of which show certain similarities. The kingship and aristocracy are unique within a society in which groups of other kinds are repeated. There are, for instance, many chiefdoms, clans, tribes, lineages, villages, village sections and households. The repeated examples of each of these all have a significant minimum of features in common; their individual members fill roles which are like the roles of others in other similar groups. But the kingship has no equals, and the behaviour of its members differs from the behaviour of members of all other kinds of groups; and there are social mechanisms to maintain this distinction.

In the next two chapters I want to sketch¹ the nature of the kingship, and show the extent to which the kingship and Lundahood permeate the rest of the society. It will be seen that although the governmental activities of the Lunda are far-reaching, this is not the case with other Lunda activities. What I specially want to bring out are the factors which prevent the politically powerful Lunda from enveloping the other residents with their own culture; and those which make other tribesmen restrain themselves from seeking identification with the Lunda.

Just as there is a general likeness in the structure of the clans and lineages we have discussed so far, so there is a general likeness in their histories. At least this is the case for those groups which reached the valley in Bwilile and Shila times: groups arriving in Lunda times have histories which are not fixed in the way the older histories are, and which do not culminate in an account of

¹ This cavalier treatment of much historical and other data may perhaps be excused since I am preparing an account of the history, ceremonial and ritual of the kingship.

the establishment of the present land situation. These differences will be discussed in Chap. IX. But the kind of history which is related by the Lunda is totally different.

Lunda history is the common property of the king, the royal family and the aristocrats. It is a tribal rather than a lineage history. It has no single repository like the *cikolwe* who is the only proper person to tell lineage history. It is the commonest subject of conversation when aristocrats are gathered together at the king's court, and the court ceremonial also provides many occasions for episodes to be formally narrated. It differs from lineage histories in that it outlines the political progress of the Lunda in linked episodes and does not, as lineage histories do, stop short at the time of the group's establishment in the Luapula Valley.

The Lunda themselves give a historical orientation of their kingship. They continually look to the past to explain, to justify, and to act. Thus almost any question which I asked during the course of field-work on Shila-Lunda relations was answered in terms of the history given above (pp. 40 f.). To the Lunda, this did more than tell of some crucial historical events. It did more even than account for Shila-Lunda relations today. It described them. In many respects the politico-ritual relations of the two groups are well symbolized in this historical episode. NKUBA was politically beaten; his connection with the land and the waters was stated, and he became ritual head of Chisenga, 'Kazembe's Storehouse'. He was called the '*Mwadi*' of Kazembe, his 'chief wife', a position which carries important ritual implications.

It is the same with the internal affairs of the kingship. The whole justification of the existence of the kingship and its customs is referred back to its origin in the state of Mwata Yamvo. The relations of the king to each aristocrat, or relations among the aristocrats, are likewise established and described historically. Guidance from the past is sought in questions of appointment to office. Custom is well rooted in the past, and even a new custom is soon given justification in antiquity. Thus it is a new rule (as far as I could establish) that a prince should be appointed king only if his mother has died. No sooner was this idea formulated than it was given sanctity by being attributed to Mwata Yamvo. But current events are likewise history in formation; and when Lunda recently stated that the kingship should never again go to the Snake Clan the reason adduced was the trouble which Kazembe XIV's Snake

Clan mother caused on his death. Presumably this episode will be remembered as a part of Lunda history.

It will be seen, then, that there is an element of myth in the notion which the people have that history explains current reality. I do not mean simply that Lunda, for example, wrongly attribute to Mwata Yamvo the rule about the mother of Kazembe. If one considers the explanation of the present Shila-Lunda relationship in terms of the story of NKUBA and Nachituti, this history may be a myth and there are good reasons for supposing it is so. But the undoubted myth here is that alleged social reality which it purports to explain. This is an extension of the myth of the tribal distinctiveness in custom, which I wrote of in Chap. II. Not all Shila today are swamp-dwelling fish eaters; NKUBA is politically autonomous of Kazembe now although he pays respects to him when he crosses over from the Belgian Congo. The Bwilile, again, live under chiefs and give them their due, so when history says 'they know no chiefs' this hardly explains the present reality. Nevertheless these histories are saying something which has meaning for the people of today. They are justifying the existence of certain customs and bolstering the notion of tribal distinctiveness; and it is significant that the notion is perpetuated not only by the separate groups concerned but also by the Lunda who conquered them. And since tribal distinctiveness is in fact breaking down, as I have shown, it is in past situations that it appears at its best. So given the need that the myth persist, the histories have an important role to play.

The politically dominant position of the Lunda means they are in relations with a large number of different groups. The nature of existing political relations, which are a specific burden of kingship, depends upon the memory of historically formative events. The Lunda have always been historians. Gamitto, writing of 1831-2, mentioned that 'these are the only people in this part of Africa, among those whom I have visited, who retain a history of this kind, albeit simple and brief'.¹ In 1951, Kazembe XIV, with the aid of some aristocrats and a Catholic missionary, published a long account entitled *My Ancestors and My People*.²

¹ Gamitto, *O Muata Cazembe*, p. 373. Valdez gives a misrendering of this passage in his book, vol. II, p. 262.

² Kazembe XIV, *Ifikolwe Fyandi na Bantu Bandi*.

For an institution which, like the kingship, is unique in a society history must always be an important guide. The reason is not only the recording of relations with the groups it concerns. The kingship is unique and therefore precedent is to be found only in its own past. With institutions which are repeated in a society this is not so: a commoner can look about him and see what the custom is from others who have the same problems. A man conducts a ceremony from what he remembers of similar ceremonies which he can see practised now and again. Few anthropologists lack experience of weddings and funerals in their two years' sojourn; but a king's funeral takes place only once in a reign.

The Lunda history thus has the pragmatic function of providing a storehouse of precedent at the same time as it helps to perpetuate ancient political relations. In its function it differs from lineage histories. But in each instance the content of the histories will be found to reflect the structure of the group involved.¹

Historical Outline²

The origin of Kazembe's Lunda is in the Lunda state of the king Mwata Yamvo³ in South-Western Katanga.

By the eighteenth century this state had been in contact with Portuguese traders from the west, and had had regular trading caravans plying to and from the coast.⁴ A widely known story relates how the chieftainess Rueji married a Luban prince, Chibinda Ilunga; and how as a result of this a first emigration from Lunda of dissidents spread out south and west, setting up new Lunda centres. The Luban's descendants became rulers of the Lunda state, and the second of these took the title of Mwata Yamvo; this title has since been inherited by all the kings there.⁵

Among the dissident chiefs who departed was one Mwin

¹ I have already argued along the lines of the last section in *History on the Luapula and 'History and Genealogies in a Conquest State'*. See also Chap. IX.

² See Map I.

³ Otherwise Mwantianvwa, Mwatyav, Muata Jamwo, etc., etc. See McCulloch, *The Southern Lunda and Related Peoples*, for a bibliography of sources on the kingdom of Mwata Yamvo.

⁴ But see p. 39, n. 4.

⁵ See Turner, 'A Lunda Love Story and its Consequences', for a translation of the main source, Dias de Carvalho. In broad lines the story is repeated by Kazembe's Lunda, but in much less detail for this early period.

Tibaraka, with his son Chinyanta. Where they settled, they were reported to boast, 'I send no tribute to him who sends no tribute to me.' Mwata Yamvo followed up this insult, captured Chinyanta and his brother Kasombola, and took them to the capital. Meanwhile in the capital a disastrous fire broke out in the section of LUBUNDA, who, because he refused to divulge the name of the culprit who started it, was forced to build a tower to reach the sun. This fell time and again, killing LUBUNDA's men, and at last LUBUNDA fled. He was an accomplished metal worker; and when some time later a 'little man' appeared bearing, among other things, copper crosses, it transpired that it was LUBUNDA who had made them. It was thereupon resolved to see the land in which he had now settled.¹ Chinyanta volunteered to accompany the expedition. He was sent as lieutenant to the expedition's leader, Mutanda Yembeyembe, a brother of the previous Mwata Yamvo (Chinyanta himself was linked to the royal family one generation higher). He also commissioned his sister's daughter's son KASHIBA as *Namwana*.²

Two different groups surrendered to the expedition in the Lualaba district. Their chiefs were taken back to Mwata Yamvo, who addressed them: 'You chiefs who have submitted to me, now you will be of my family, and from this day you are Lunda.' The chiefs thus honoured became Lunda aristocrats, and one of them, MWINEMPANDA, subsequently became second in rank to KASHIBA. But they are still distinguished from the 'true' Lunda (Bena Kawand, Bena Nkaland or Bena Nkalanye) by being called Bena Lualaba. They got Lunda insignia: skirts and cow-hide belts.

Mutanda Yembeyembe was still leader of the expedition. Chinyanta returned with the chiefs to Mwata Yamvo, with orders from Mutanda to say nothing of the excellent salt they had found. But Chinyanta informed Mwata Yamvo and, once they had re-

¹ But see above, p. 39, n. 2.

² Aristocrats hold hereditary positions, the titles themselves being inherited: I write them in capitals. I write in italics the names of *myanso* (sing. *mwanso*); these are offices of royal appointment, of which there are very many. Some are inherited, others are *ad hoc* appointments made by the reigning king. *Namwana* is a unique appointment which always belongs to the bearer of the name KASHIBA, and implies KASHIBA's role in the installation ceremony. Literally 'mother of the son' it refers to his duty of placing the new king, a son of the Lunda, upon the drum of office.

turned to the Lualaba, Mutanda killed Chinyanta and his brother Kasombola. Back the Lunda went to Mwata Yamvo, who appointed Chinyanta's son, Kazembe Ng'anda Bilonda, as leader of the expedition, and gave him instructions to kill Mutanda. But Mutanda had fled and was not seen again. Kazembe Ng'anda Bilonda was the first Mwata Kazembe, as future kings of the eastern Lunda were to be known. They all inherited the personal name (Kazembe) and the title (Mwata), while they were further distinguished by their own personal names.

Kazembe I died after he had purified the head of Chief Mufunga, who had been killed in a battle east of the Lualaba. The circumstances of Kazembe's death made the Lunda return once more to Mwata Yamvo, who had the successor chosen by means of a competition between two claimants: the one an aristocrat who had killed Mufunga, the other a second son of Chinyanta. The principle at stake—whether an aristocrat could become king—was resolved when the prince won the competition, and it has been adhered to since. Mwata Yamvo then gave the prince, now Kazembe II, a charter to conquer and settle in the east. He gave him all the Lunda insignia of kingship, and said: 'Kanyembo son of Chinyanta, we share our kingship with you, for wherever you go you will be your own master. If my children [= subjects] should come where you are ruling, they will not eat from your fire; and your children when they come to the country where I rule, shall not eat from my fire; we will give only uncooked food.¹ And everything that I do you shall do; all the customs of my kingship will be the customs of yours also. . . . Now you are Mwata, we divide the realm between us, and no other chief will challenge your fame. There will be two countries in our kingdom. Wherever you go to the east of the Lualaba will be your country, and the country to the west of the Lualaba will remain my country. Go and conquer that all men may be yours.'²

By this time, before even the Lunda had reached the Luapula, the aristocratic titles of the present-day Luapula Lunda had been established. Kazembe II recrossed the Lualaba, subjugated much

¹ As a sign of independence and mutual respect. Today within the kingdom of Kazembe it is only KASHIBA who receives uncooked food from Kazembe.

² The above wording is a translation from the published history, *Ifikolwe Fyandi na Bantu Bandi*, pp. 30-1.

of Sanga, Lamba and Lomotwa country, and finally traversed the Luapula. East of the Luapula he first was embroiled with Makumba, the nature-spirit in the land of the Aushi tribe,¹ finally managing to make it cease working malevolently against him. From there to Bisa country near Lake Bangweulu, and north to Chishinga country, his march was continually successful. He then heard of the Shila in the Luapula Valley: not of NKUBA, ensconced in the swamps, but of two minor Shila chiefs on the hard land, whom he defeated. Kazembe installed himself in the village of one of these Shila chiefs, KATELE, in order to rest before advancing farther. But he died there, on the river Lunde, some 12 miles east of Mofwe Lagoon. The Lunda buried the body by diverting the river, building a mound over the grave, and then allowing the river to take its old course; while the hair and nails, kept throughout life, were returned to the river Lualaba and buried near the grave of his father. This was the first interment at Lunde, the burial place of most of the subsequent Kazembes.

Kazembe III, Lukwesa, carried on his predecessor's course of conquest. He moved north to Tabwa and Lungu country. The Bemba chief Mwamba, hearing that his 'mother's brother' was coming, blocked the roads leading into Bembaland with human corpses; and Kazembe respected the Bemba kingdom. Kazembe reached as far as the Ngonde of Lake Nyasa² and returned by Mambwe and Inamwanga country, and rested in Itabwa. After a while Kazembe returned to Lunde, the burial place of his predecessor, and chose it as his capital since it was centrally situated in the lands he and his predecessors had conquered. Soon (according to Father Pinto in 1799)³ the capital was moved to Mofwe. But before this there occurred the widely known incident of the surrender of the Shila in the name of Nachituti, already narrated above (pp. 40f.). The only difference between the Shila account (as given above) and the Lunda account, is that the Lunda claim that Nachituti's gift of the land and the waters was worthless since they had already conquered the country by killing NKUBA.

It was during the period of Kazembe III and IV, whose reigns

¹ Described in Philpot, 'Makumba—the Baushi Tribal God'.

² Although Professor M. Wilson tells me she saw no signs of the trench the Lunda say they dug there, during her researches in the region.

³ Pinto, 'Lacerda's Journey to Cazembe in 1798', p. 139.

together probably spanned some ninety years up to about 1850, that Lunda expansion reached and was maintained at its widest. During this period the governors (aristocrats) in lands away from the capital organized tribute from many areas, gave advance warning of attacks and lived alongside the tributary chiefs, offering them protection and assistance in their local disputes. But then the Yeke on the one hand and the Arab traders on the other set in motion thirty years of tumult. Princes who might have wished to take the kingship before this period had been unable to muster sufficient following locally to overwhelm the reigning king. There are records that some had been put to death or given important positions by Kazembe. But now Arabs and Yeke had respectively mercantile and territorial interests in the area, and rival princes sought from them and received military support.¹ Between 1850 and 1874 five more Kazembes had taken the throne, with external help. By the time the situation was stabilized again under Kazembe X, the better part of South-Eastern Katanga had been lost to Kazembe, as it was now under Yeke overlordship. But Lunda country itself remained a stronghold against both Arabs and Yeke, and many chiefs had come to seek shelter with Kazembe. Most were housed in the village of an aristocrat on the Mbereshi River; some from north and east of Lake Mweru sheltered on Kilwa Island; and yet others lived in the capital itself and on the Lufubu River. When peace was established finally under the European powers Kazembe sent them back home whence they continued to send tribute for some years. But by 1885 the boundary of the Congo Free State had been established by convention along the Luapula. The appearance of the British from the north in 1890 (in the person of Sir Alfred Sharpe) ensured that the east bank would be British. Kazembe accepted protection in that year; he received Sharpe well in 1892. But in 1897 he offered resistance and repulsed a force sent from the Boma established on the Kalungwisi River.² In 1899 the British came again in greater force and Kazembe fled across the Luapula. He sought refuge finally at Johnston Falls Mission, recently established, and told the missionaries he was willing to accept protection. Mrs. Anderson, wife

¹ The two large Portuguese expeditions, in 1798/9 and 1831/2, did not involve themselves in local politics to the same extent as these later arrivals.

² Tilsley, *Dan Crawford of Central Africa*, p. 390.

of the missionary, accompanied him to meet the British representatives at his capital in 1900, and he was recognized as chief. Kazembe X died in 1904. Since then, the more tenuously held areas formerly under Kazembe's sway on the Rhodesian side have been gradually whittled away, the latest secession being Chishinga country, until the kingdom was reduced to the riverain chiefdoms of the present day. Kazembe in his history claims he lost these territories owing to the Lunda custom: that when chiefs were conquered they were succeeded not by Lunda, but by their proper local successors; a Lunda governor was put in only to supervise them.¹

The King and those around him

The kingship is the centre of Lundahood, and derives, according to the events enumerated above, from the similar kingship of Mwata Yamvo in South-Western Katanga. The kings are descended from Dyulu, the brother of Rueji of the traditions. Custom ordains that the Lunda aristocrats should choose a king from among the sons of dead kings, born in the purple. This rule has been followed in all instances except that of Kazembe VII who was installed under somewhat exceptional circumstances. The king, *Mwata*, has a chief wife, *Mwadi*, a woman given as *ntombo*, a gift of one of the aristocrats. She and Kazembe together deal with certain rituals of kingship, including the *nongo ya mpanga*, the 'pot of the country' equivalent to the 'village pot' of a headman's chief wife. There are three important other wives; the remainder of the wives are in the status of servants to the four most important titled women.²

The capital of Kazembe, the *musumba*, is the largest village in the country, consisting now of twelve sections (*fitente*), each the size of a substantial village. The present capital of Mwanabombwe has perhaps some 3,000 inhabitants. Traditionally each Kazembe shortly after succession would desert the capital of his predecessor and build his own on some site near Mofwe Lagoon; but since the return of Kazembe X from Bemba country, where he had sought troops against the Yeke (c. 1884), the capital has been in its present position about twenty miles south of the lagoon, on a hill com-

¹ *Ifikolwe Fyandi na Bantu Bandi*, p. 47.

² *Mwadi, Ntemena, Mfuwama, Kasheluka*. These are regarded as *mwansa* offices.

manding wide views over the swamps in the direction from which the attackers might have been expected to approach. In the middle of the capital is the royal fence, inside which are the king's house, the houses of his wives, the royal kitchen, and a shed in which are kept certain ceremonial objects of the kingship. The fence is of traditional shape and design, orientated to the east, with, outside it, the *ibulu*—an open space upon which the king holds ceremonial gatherings, and where also today the Native Authority offices are situated.

The fence and the Native Authority buildings are symbolic of the two sorts of hierarchy of which the king is a member. As king, he is at the head of the indigenous Lunda political hierarchy (the *bufumu*). As 'Senior Chief', he is at the head of the Lunda Native Authority (*buteko*); but in this position he is in the middle of a chain of authority which extends from village headmen to the Northern Rhodesian Administration and the Colonial Office. There is some interlocking of the two hierarchies: the subjects of the kingship and the Administration are the same people, and some aristocrats (who are of the *bufumu*) are also officers of the administration (*buteko*).

In the indigenous structure the people immediately around the king consist of the Lunda, the royal family and the reigning king's mother's clan. The Lunda (baLunda or bakaLunda) consist of those Lunda whose ancestors came from Mwata Yamvo, or whose ancestors were invested by Mwata Yamvo with Lundahood. Of these, the *bakalulua* are a special category. A *kalulua* is an aristocrat who has given a daughter (or other close kinswoman) to a reigning king provided that she has borne a son who subsequently became a king: the aristocrats concerned are KASHINGE, CHILEMBI, CHIBWIDI and MWINEMPANDA, whose women became mothers of Kazembes I, II, III and VII respectively.¹ The royal family consists of the sons and grandsons of previous Kazembes and of the reigning one. Royalty stops two generations down from a king, unless a man of third or fourth generation inherits the position of a Lunda in the royal category. The reigning king's mother's

¹ But MWINEMPANDA owed this position primarily to the fact that his daughter bore the successor to the first KASHIBA. Latterly, Kazembes have been born of non-Lunda mothers; but the important men who gave these women to the king as wives have not on that account been given the position of *kalulua*.

clansmen, and more especially her lineage, are the *bacanuma* (lit. 'those behind him').

People in these categories all stand in real or perpetual kinship to Kazembe. Through their fathers, Kazembes are all members of the royal family. But through their mothers, Kazembes are all related to the *bacanuma*, some of whom were of the aristocracy. These aristocratic families that have not provided mothers of Kazembes have attained, through their ancient political associations with the royal house, the equivalent of a kinship relationship. Moreover they are also related through the fact that all have at one time or another provided *ntombo* wives other than those who have become mothers of Kazembes. Later Kazembes are also related to the aristocracy and the past *bacanuma*, kinship entering through their father's mothers. The Kazembes therefore have links of one kind or another with many different clans.

It is necessary here to distinguish between Lunda clans and others. The country west of the Lualaba has a clan system which is different from that of the country east of the Lualaba. Western Lunda clans have names, and some of these names have the same meaning as some eastern clan names. But this is not true in all instances, and in spite of homonyms clans have not been assimilated. Perhaps the similarity in meanings is a chance similarity, and the clans recognize no common origin or ancestor. Some of the aristocrats have western clan names, while others have clan names from the Lualaba district (like Bena Mbushi, Goat Clan, to which CHIBWIDI among others belongs) which are the same as eastern names. Thus some of the aristocracy share clan names with the general Luapula population while others do not. Aristocratic names, like the kingship, are usually inherited patrilineally, but in some instances aristocrats, after their appointment to the Lunda position, have continued to boast of their mothers' clan names following Luapula commoner custom. Hence some Luapula clans have become closely associated with some aristocratic names.

Of the Lunda clans which derive from the country of Mwata Yamvo, the most important now represented on the Luapula is the Bena Congoli (Millipede Clan).¹ The ancestor of the

¹ In order to distinguish western from eastern clans, I shall write the western clans in their native names, and continue to translate the names of the eastern clans.

Kazembes, Chinyanta, is said to have belonged to this clan: thus also Mwata Yamvo and KASHIBA (though his descent from Mwata Yamvo was uterine) are said to be of this clan. Closely associated with the Bena Congoli are the baKosa (Tortoise Clan). This is in two parts: the western Kosa and the Lualaba or eastern Kosa, the latter having its centre just west of the Lualaba where MWINEMPANDA was discovered. Other important clans from the west still represented on the Luapula include the Bena Ngalapopo (Grey Parrot Clan) and the Bena Kakamba (Bushpig Clan). The clans here mentioned, including the Goat Clan, contain the offices of most of the aristocrats.

One other group in the aristocracy is of some importance. These are the Bena Nkumwimba. Lunda informants could not say whether this was a clan or a tribal designation. Some years after the Lunda settlement on the Luapula a group of Nkumwimba, said to have been close neighbours and allies of Mwata Yamvo, came and married into the Lunda. One of their leaders, KALILO, became a Lunda aristocrat.

Mwata Yamvo, it is said, told the Lunda to marry only Lunda women. A Kazembe should be the son of a Kazembe and of a woman given as *ntombo* by a Lunda aristocrat. This rule was adhered to with the first ten Kazembes (except for Kazembe VII); Kazembe XI's mother was a Chishinga of the Rain Clan and Kazembe XIV's mother a Bwilile of the Snake Clan. Table VIII gives details of the kings with special reference to the provenance of their mothers. In the case of Kazembe XI, the group of Rain Clan concerned say they came from Lake Bangweulu to Chishinga country, and when there heard of Kazembe's renown and decided to live under him. They married one of their women to a Lunda aristocrat. The daughter of this pair was given by the *cikolwe* of this Rain Clan lineage to Kazembe VI as wife, and she became the mother of Kazembe XI. Thus the woman had Lunda blood, but her effective role, when she was given to Kazembe, was that of a Rain Clan woman of the Chishinga tribe. These Rain Clan people now say they are Lunda because of these marriages and because 'their ancestors died on the Luapula'.¹ Their

¹ An unusual claim, paralleled perhaps only by the Shila, some of whom claim to be 'Shila-Lunda' likewise in virtue of intermarriage with the aristocracy. Some would add also, because Shila and Lunda speak much the same dialect—*ciShila* or *cinaLunda*.

TABLE VIII

King's mothers' clans

Kazembe	Mother	Given by	Clan	Tribe
Chinyanta	Kasongo	—	Congoli	Tibaraka (Lunda)
I	Kawanga	Kashinge	Kakamba	Lunda
II	Mpemba	Chilembi	W. Kosa	Lunda
III	Muonga	Koni*	Goat	Lunda
IV	Kafuti	?	Bena Nkumwimba (Lunda)	Lunda
V	Kasawo	Kabola	Goat	Lunda
VI	Munona	Chibwidi	Goat	Lunda
VII	Sunkutu	Mwinempanda	E. Kosa	Lunda
VIII	Kawanga	?	Bena Nkumwimba (Lunda)	Lunda
IX	Mpanga	Kaindu	Goat	Lunda
X	Ntemena	Kasumpa	Kosa and Dog	Lunda
XI	Kapakata	Malakata	Rain	Chishinga
XII	Kasasa	Mwinempanda	Kosa and Mushroom	Lunda
XIII	Chibumbu	Chibale	Frog	Lunda
XIV	Nankula	Kapale	Snake and Otter	Bwilile
XV	Mwape	Chimbele- ng'ense	Calabash	Lunda

* Koni's position as *kalulua* was later given to Chibwidi, also of the Goat Clan.

leader, however, was not given the honour of *kalulua*. The accession of Kazembe XIV caused some disturbance, mainly over the difficulty of choosing someone who would find favour with the British Administration as the previous two Kazembes had failed to do. KAPALE, from whom Kazembe XIV's mother came, was not a stranger: he was in fact the Owner of the Land very near the present capital, and had lived many years in the capital. But the woman was not a *ntombo* wife: irregularly, she was *cilopa*, a woman given to the king in order that he might judge a case of homicide.

The fact that earlier Kazembes all had mothers given by Lunda aristocrats has meant that the later Kazembes are descended, through their fathers, both from the ancestor Chinyanta and from Lunda aristocrats, even although their mothers may be foreigners. Kazembe II had no children;¹ thus all the remaining kings are

¹ But Labrecque records a different version, that Kazembe II was father of

descended from his brother Kazembe I: and thus all are descended from the family of KASHINGE, whence Kazembe I's mother came—with the exception of the affinally related Kazembe VII and his son Kazembe XII. Otherwise the Kazembes all have either Kosa or Goat Clan ancestry, to which two clans most of the aristocrats belong. Kazembe VII and XII both had Goat Clan fathers and Kosa Clan mothers. Kazembe X had close connections with the Kosa Clan, for although his mother was of the Dog Clan, he had become the Kosa aristocrat CHIFEPA before his installation as king. The remainder have preponderantly Goat Clan ancestry on their father's side, although Kazembe VIII and XIII had Nkumwimba ancestry. In fact the ancestry of the Kazembes includes all the twelve most important aristocrats, for all Goat Clan aristocrats are linked by clanship to CHIBWIDI and all Kosa Clan aristocrats are linked by clanship to CHILEMBI or MWINEMPANDA. Even KASHIBA is included through the first KASHIBA's marriage to MWINEMPANDA's sister. KALANDALA alone among aristocrats seems unsure of his clan, but he is held by others generally to be Kosa.

As might be expected, the princes, the aristocrats and the *bacanuma* of any one Kazembe regard the king in different lights. For the princes, Kazembe is the one from among them who has achieved kingship. For the aristocrats, Kazembe has left his mother's clan and entered the Kazembeship of which the aristocrats are guardians. For the *bacanuma*, his mother's clansmen, Kazembe is a man of their own clan who has been set apart. One difficulty lies in the existence of two modes of descent. The king and most of the aristocratic Lunda names are inherited patrilineally, while everyone else belongs to matrilineal descent groups. To the Lunda, Lundahood overrides all other affiliations, even the affiliations of those clans like the Kosa, Congoli and Ngalapopo which are distinctively Lunda and are not found in the east among the other residents. Kazembe has to strike a proper balance in his attitude to people of those categories.

As there are three main groups present—Western Lunda, Lualabans, and the eastern peoples—so there are three kinds of descent to be reckoned with. Lunda say they themselves were patrilineal at Kola in the west. The Lualaba peoples whom they

Kazembe III: 'Histoire des Mwata Kazembe Chefs Lunda du Luapula', pt. 2, (Lovanía, xvii), p. 34. I never heard this stated by Lunda.

defeated and made Lunda had alternative modes of succession. The people whom they found on the Luapula (including those who later migrated from the Great Plateau) were all matrilineal. The representatives of Kola have remained patrilineal in the lines of the important names. The Lualabans are now nearly always patrilineal in the descent of important names, while other members of their families have adopted entirely the matriliney of the Luapula peoples. These latter, including the later immigrants, have retained their matriliney. But while the aristocrats occasionally have matrilineal descent, this is never the case with the Kazembes, for whom the overriding rule is 'the country does not belong to the king's mother's people' (*calo te ca pa kanyina iyo*): a successor to the kingship is never sought through her line.

All Lunda take their clans from their mothers, at birth. On the death of a Lunda who in his lifetime did not inherit an important name, or did not himself reach great eminence, he is succeeded by someone of his mother's clan; and this clan is responsible for finding a successor for him. If a man takes the place of a non-Lunda he has then entered truly the non-Lunda clan of his mother, and cannot later take a Lunda name, for the non-Lunda clan would fear that their name would be 'eaten' by the Lunda. But if an unimportant Lunda is called to take the name of an aristocrat, he 'forgets' his mother's clan and takes the clan to which the aristocratic name is tied. In entering the name, at the same time he enters the clan, for the name belongs to it. Lunda who inherit a Lunda position patrilineally thus forget their matrilineal ancestry.

With royals (kings' children and grandchildren) who have attained some prominence in Lunda affairs, there may be patrilineal succession. Such men may be succeeded by anyone within three generations in the line of a king regardless of his matrilineal clan. Those who have attained no such eminence may be succeeded matrilineally and become lost to the Lunda. The mothers of kings' sons have no remembered genealogy; they are known simply to have come from the village of such and such an aristocrat or other person; they remember the man who gave honour to Kazembe by presenting him with a wife. With kings and kings' children these mothers are recalled constantly by the method of naming. To the spirit names of Kazembes and princes are added regularly their mothers' spirit names. Thus Chinyanta Nankula (Kazembe XIV) was Chinyanta by birth, and to this was added

his mother's name Nankula. Lunda explain this usage by saying it is for recognition purposes only: there are so many people called by the Lunda names of Chinyanta, Muonga, etc., that some distinction must necessarily be made between them. It is significant that the name chosen to be used in this way is that of the king's mother.

The Bacanuma: Nepotism

However strongly the Lunda insist that the king has left the clan of the *bacanuma* and entered Lundahood and kingship, Kazembe continues to respect his mother's kin. They flock to the capital on his installation; he gives them posts, and helps them with food and money. And within the kingship there are posts which go traditionally to members of the *bacanuma*. One of these is the *mwanso* office of *Nswanamulopwe*, who formerly was the king's personal adviser, and his prop against the power of the aristocrats. He was changed with each reign. In the last few reigns this position has become stabilized in one line, and there is no change on a new succession. He is becoming more and more like one of the aristocrats, even to the extent of being present at the meeting to choose the new Kazembe. Unless the *bacanuma* happen to be Lunda themselves, the *Nswanamulopwe* is the only one among them who wears the Lunda insignia of belt and skirt. The *bacanuma* also provide the person who is to be the king's gravekeeper. There is one gravekeeper for each dead king, working under the general direction of MUKANSO, gravekeeper to Kazembe II, the first Kazembe to be buried at Lunde. As living representatives of the dead kings, the gravekeepers have the power to bless the reigning king with the blessing of his ancestors.

Apart from this, the king chooses people from his mother's clan to do certain jobs around the palace. Generally his valet and cook belong to his mother's clan, and usually some of the *fikola*, policemen and palace guards. Among appointments to posts outside the palace, some are sure to go to this clan. Important work may figure here. Kazembe XI, whose mother was of the Rain Clan, gave to Chiboshe the erstwhile chiefdom of the Bemba MWAWA-MUKUPA¹ when the latter had shown disrespect. Chiboshe was a

¹ See above, p. 52.

member of the Rain Clan, a sister's son of Kazembe XI, and had taken the place of the man who had provided Kazembe XI's mother. Kazembe XI also appointed another man of that clan, Matipa, to be headman of a section in the capital. Kazembe XIV had his Snake Clan 'brother' (mother's sister's son) Loma appointed an assessor in his court, and he delegated to Chimalaunga, a near relative of the Snake Clan *cikolwe* KAPALE, the ritual work of purifying lions. At the same time Kazembe is careful not to go too far. Shortly after his installation, Kazembe XIV received a letter from Katete, a Snake Clan chief in the Congo, in which Katete said he wanted to live in Kazembe's capital because Kazembe was both a great chief and a member of the Snake Clan. Kazembe replied that Katete should not come, since he, Kazembe, was not a chief of the Snake Clan: his was the chieftainship of quite another people—the Lunda.

Clearly it is to the advantage of the *bacanuma* that Kazembe should remain in good health. However bad a ruler he may be, his kinsmen can only benefit from his kingship. Thus the king does not fear their sorcery. Even after his death the *bacanuma* may continue to live exaltedly. Many of the appointments made by a previous Kazembe are carried over into the next reign, and may even become hereditary. *Bacanuma* can thus continue to boast about their connection with the kingship. The position may enhance status already present: for instance CHISALE, the former magician of Kazembe III, and his successors had never taken part in the discussion to choose the new king until the death of Kazembe XIII whose mother he had provided. And after the death of the Rain Clan Kazembe XI, a group of Rain Clansmen were given the specific honour of forming a village inside the old trench of Kazembe IV (the *mpembwe yakiwa Keleka*, at the south end of Mofwe Lagoon).

History suggests that the *bacanuma* have remained by Kazembe in the most adverse circumstances. The *bacanuma* of Kazembe IX were the Goat Clan of KAINDU (who is also a Lunda aristocrat). KAINDU was the most formidable protagonist of Kazembe IX in his struggle against the man who had become Kazembe X, and even after Kazembe IX's death in battle he continued with his Yeke allies to invest the Luapula Valley. His uterine kinship with Kazembe IX here rose above his position as a Lunda aristocrat, for whom the peace and continuation of the kingship are the strongest

values. Indeed, it was not until the reign of Kazembe XIV that KAINDU, after bringing tribute three times from the Yeke chiefdom of Kashobwe where he lives, was reinstated as a Lunda aristocrat and granted cloth and belt again.

The Royal Family: Rivalry

King's real children and grandchildren are *bana* and *bishikulu ba mfumu*, and constitute the royal family. At any time these include real children and grandchildren of both past and reigning kings, as well as people who have taken the places of such. Every child of a king, whether born before or after succession, is known as *mwana wa mfumu*, but those who are born after succession are distinguished by being born *pa kamenga*, by the hearth of Kazembe's own papyrus-mat hut (now not built). The latter category are eligible to succeed. Those born before succession, *ku bwala*, are ineligible. They may still take the place of real kings' children, and receive important appointments, as Thomas Kazembe became 'Mwata Kazembe', the tribal representative at the Copperbelt town of Chingola. Although these children are born before succession, they are still real kings' grandchildren.

Most of the kings have had many wives apart from the four most important named above. The first fourteen Kazembes begot among them 157 remembered children, and probably many more unremembered. Wives leave the palace in order not to contaminate it when they bear children, but a few days after giving birth they return. The child then goes to stay with some (usually maternal) grandmother in the capital as all young children do. Here he grows up playing with the other children, but spending much time in the palace grounds, particularly with the drums. Kings' children, when they are young, are favourites of everyone in the capital, and the aristocrats especially, however old and pompous they may be, go out of their way to chat with them and allow themselves to be teased: for any one of these children may be a future Kazembe.

Formerly when they grew up kings' sons lived in a street to the east of the palace under one of their number with the title of *Mfumuwabwana*. They were all circumcised as boys by the aristocrat KALANDALA along with sons of aristocrats, staying for some time in a hut (called *mukanda*) built for the purpose in a jungle

(*mushitu*) in the Nshinda swamp.¹ Thereafter they might not eat with any uncircumcised person. This was the real badge of Lundahood. Kings' sons were warriors. If an aristocrat failed in a sortie, then a king's son would be sent out to direct operations, and only if he failed would Kazembe himself go to war. Because they were warriors, Lunda say, it was they who were first given sections in the capital when its organization was changed for purposes of the Administration. Aristocrats still say that the capital is the proper place for kings' sons to live, for there they could not raise men to attack the reigning king, and would not create situations of rivalry with aristocrats governing outlying districts. However, with the reign of Kazembe XI (1904-19) appointments of kings' sons and grandsons were made to district governorships (administratively the same as the present chiefdoms) in place of the aristocrats who were the traditional governors. The precedent had been Kazembe XI himself who, before he was king, was chosen by the people of the present Kambwali chiefdom, in the turbulence following the wars, as their chief. Thus nowadays chiefs Kambwali and Kanyembo² are kings' sons, and Lukwesa is a grandson. KASHIBA alone of the aristocrats remains a chief on the east bank. On the west bank, on the other hand, there are no kings' sons or grandsons as chiefs, but KAINDU and KABIMBI are aristocrats who have retained their chiefdoms under the Belgians.

Today, instead of remaining in the capital, kings' sons and grandsons are spread far and wide. Excluding the young children of Kazembe XIII and XIV there were, in 1951, 38 kings' children alive. Of these, ten lived in the capital, five lived in nearby villages, four were chiefs or their representatives, and nineteen lived far away. As a group, they are not so involved in Lunda matters as formerly. Since this is so, they are less likely to be succeeded as Lunda royals, and more likely to be succeeded as members of their mothers' clans. Of the king's children who have died and are remembered, the names of 36 were not inherited (or the

¹ This appears to have been one of the first practices to fall into disuse at the turn of the century. Lunda ascribe this to missionary influence.

² Until his succession as Kazembe XVI, in 1957. The name *Kambwali* is now a *mwanso* office, viz. the chieftainship of Lukanga district. This contrasts with the present Lukwesa and Kanyembo chiefdoms, whose names will change on the change of chief. The other chiefdoms (except for Muyembe sub-chiefdom) are all hereditary—hence the names are constant.

successors are forgotten), the names of 47 were inherited in their mothers' clans, and the names of only 15 were inherited within the royal family. Of these 15, 14 were men.

The situation of princes among themselves, and of princes towards the kingship, is one in which rivalry could and does arise. It has always been recognized and appears in one form or another in Lunda history. The first instance was when Kazembe II had his half-brother Nawezi killed by the Lunda because it looked as if he wanted to seize the kingship. Kazembe X appeased his two formidable brothers, Kafununa and Mumpolokoso: the first by giving him a large village near the capital, and the second by granting him a fence and a chieftainship in the capital itself. He declared also that Mumpolokoso was to be his successor, and endowed him with many of the trappings of kingship.¹ Earlier Kazembes ensured loyalty from their brothers by making the most influential one the *Mwanabute*, the official heir to the kingship (although this office did not ensure subsequent installation). The trouble which ensued in the reigns of Kazembe VII-IX resulted from the struggle for the kingship which actually broke out between three half-brothers.

Nowadays the struggle is expressed in sorcery and not in armed rebellion; in other words, princes can no longer raise an armed force against the kingship, but others recognize the potential danger of princes to such an extent that they actually accuse them of trying to bewitch the king. Lunda say that formerly Kazembe was not the object of sorcery, and that in any case Kazembe was usually appointed when old and he normally died of old age. On the other hand people feared exposure by the counter-medicines which Kazembe, being the most powerful chief, must have about him. Beliefs about sorcery and the kingship take many forms but most of them involve kings' sons. A king's son can be said to bewitch the king directly in the hope of taking his place. Alternatively he can behave in such a way as to make others bewitch the king so that the son can no longer boast he is the son of a reigning king. He can bewitch the Lunda aristocrats to influence them in their choice of a king. Here jealousy as in all Lunda sorcery is the mainspring. Either the son is jealous of the king, or

¹ Presumably this is the origin of Crawford's description of the 'dual chieftainship' of Kazembe. See Crawford, *Back to the Long Grass*, p. 181.

else people are jealous of the privileged position which a king's son is abusing. Even in the latter case the blame is laid at the door of the prince, for it is his behaviour which has reasonably incited the people to action. This development, that the king is now bewitched, seems to be connected with the fact that princes no longer live immediately under the authority of Kazembe in his capital. Sons living in the capital behave in a meek manner. Some, when they are away, lose the restraint which proximity to the king imposes on them in the capital.

The aristocrats do not use sorcery against the king. Their concern is to see that at any time there is a king in office. They could protect the kingship against abuse by dismissing or killing a king. Kazembe IX, who later returned and seized the kingship, was dismissed by the aristocrats before he was properly installed, in view of the threats of dire punishment he made against Lunda in general. It is said that Kazembe VI was not popular with the aristocrats, who put him out of the way. I heard from a number of informants that their method of killing was to stuff the mouth of a king with pounded groundnuts and so suffocate him. Perhaps sorcery was not a sure enough method. As one aristocrat said: 'Why should we put Kazembe at the top of the tree and then fix a spear in the ground so that he is killed if he falls?'

But the aristocrats are the ones who are the first to suspect princes of sorcery. Jealousy motivates sorcery and the king, both through his rank and his wealth, is the person most open to jealousy in the land. But more than pure jealousy Lunda fear political rivalry directed against him, and this incriminates the only possible rivals for the kingship, namely the princes.

The Aristocrats: Authority

The aristocrats are the guardians of the kingship. At the same time they are excluded from its office. They are the owners (*bene*) of the kingship but yet they are under the authority of the king. Briefly, to them the customs of kingship are sacrosanct. One of these customs is that the aristocrats obey the king. This they do willingly so long as the king, in the commands which he gives, is maintaining the customs of kingship. If the king errs, then the aristocrats fear for the kingship because of the king in office.

In the kingship, it is the aristocrats who have the work of 'giving the law' to the king. As a village headman cannot form

a village without the help of *bacilolo* elders, nor a girl pass puberty without the help of the *banacimbusa*, so the king cannot take his place and learn to reign properly without the advice of Lunda elders—the aristocrats. But the difference lies in the fact that these aristocrats hold hereditary positions, and together all of them are the *bene ba bufumu*, the owners of the kingship. It is hardly necessary to suggest why they should be actively interested in the well-being of the kingship. Their own positions depend on it: the significance of their names, their political power, their material benefits from the hands of the king in the form of tribute shared out. The king could now dispense with custom: he has European backing. But the aristocrats are dependent on traditional custom for the maintenance of their positions.

The aristocrats are all related, in one way or another, to Kazembe and among themselves. Although the perpetual relationships of the different aristocrats began in different ways, the expressed relationship of a Kazembe to an aristocrat is usually *kapa* (grandfather: the Lunda equivalent of the Bemba *shikulu*). Alternatively, Kazembe calls an aristocrat *mayo*, mother. But the link through Kazembe is not the only one; the aristocracy is independently structured. There are other links, of kinship and other kinds, among groups of aristocrats which set them apart from each other. First, there is a link between all those aristocrats whose names derive originally from Kola (KASHIBA, KALANDALA, KASHINGE, CHILEMBI, CHINTOMBE, KASENGULA, MUTYAME and MUKUNKU are the most important). There is a link between the aristocrats of the same clan or of clans said to be segments of the same clan. The Congoli Clan and the Lualaba and western sections of the Kosa are said to be the same clan, linking KASHIBA, KALANDALA and CHILEMBI, with MWINEMPANDA of the Lualaba, whose 'nephews' CHIPEPA, KABIMBI, MPUYA and KALUMBU are also involved. Likewise the Goat Clan links aristocrats CHIBWIDI, KONI, MWELWA KAMONGA and MUSANDA. These apart, there is a joking relationship between KASHIBA and MWINEMPANDA, derived from the fact that the former 'captured' the latter on the Lualaba. This important relationship is in fact between the two leading aristocrats. Another joking relationship exists between the Lunda (particularly those of the Kosa Clan) and the Ngalapopo Clan, who are called the 'wives' of the other Lunda. The Ngalapopo are the *bena masembe*, the guardians of the area to the west of the

palace, which is associated with impurity, and where the kings' wives went during their menses. These two joking relationships are significant also because KASHIBA and the Ngalapopo aristocrats are the only ones not to have a clear link with the kingship in kinship terms.¹

But the aristocrats have consistently, although not exclusively, intermarried among themselves. All Lunda on arrival from the west were obliged to marry only Lunda women. This rule holds no longer, but there is still considerable intermarriage among them. They say they are so intermarried that there is no point in observing affinal avoidances.

The aristocracy is therefore not an internally undifferentiated group. Kazembe speaks in a somewhat patronizing tone to and of the Lualaba aristocrats, who cannot be styled 'Bena Kawand'. The first four places of the aristocracy are strictly graded: KASHIBA, MWINEMPANDA, KALANDALA and KASHINGE, an order which appears in the ceremonial greeting to the king. After these four have greeted him in pairs, the remainder of those present (including now the *Nswanamulopwe*) follow in single file. Kazembe has had typed out the official order of the first fourteen. They are further distinguished by the kind of Lunda insignia they are allowed to possess. Apart from this ranking, there is a ranking of a less formal kind among those aristocrats who are also *bakalulua*. The most important of these are ranked in order of the Kazembes which their women bore: KASHINGE, CHILEMBI and CHIBWIDI, since these three provided the mothers respectively of Kazembes I, II and III. They boast of the prestige which the office gives them.

There is jealousy among aristocrats. Some pairs have traditionally sustained friendly relationships for generations; but generally they vie for the ear and favours of the king. Although aristocrats are now ranked, there was formerly much equality between them, and CHIPEPA, now eighth on the list, had as much responsibility in his district at the north-east of Lake Mweru as did KASHIBA, first on the list, on the upper Luapula. Because of the near equality,

¹ The Ngalapopo were early involved in an error of ritual which caused the death of Kazembe I, and no woman of this clan may become the mother of a king. KASHIBA, although he often provides one of the chief wives of the king, has never become *bacumuna* and hence *kakulua*.

status itself became an end for which aristocrats contended; and Kazembe was aware of this and ordained certain rules to prevent the ready outbreak of jealousy. It was forbidden for one aristocrat to visit another at his house in the capital (although many had districts to govern most kept town houses as well); for the aristocrat visited might feel himself the superior because of the visit to his house. They had to meet on the open space to the east of the palace. Even now aristocrats fear to visit the king singly; dealings with him should be open and not secret. All aristocrats who had districts had much the same material at their disposal; had the same officers; lived in the same kind of house and fence, had the same power of judgment and of demanding tribute. Only a few had duties which retained them permanently in the capital.

When I asked a Lunda aristocrat what his work was in the capital, he replied: 'To drink beer.' This was more than a brave show of opulence. Aristocrats drank beer in the palace grounds and discussed the kingship, especially in its historical aspects, with Kazembe. They still do. Kazembe is always surrounded by things Lunda. Drumming goes on at dawn and sunset, and often through much of the night: if he wakes up it is good for him to be reminded that he is in the centre of Lunda. The presence of aristocrats in the capital is an aspect of this. The aristocrats between them are the repositories of Lunda history. They are the link between one Kazembe and the next. If Kazembe dies, the slogan says *mukaLunda washalapo*—a Lunda remains. History and cases of the kingship—involving the determination of Lunda custom—are the subjects mainly discussed. Every day there is beer in the palace, since every woman making a brew in the capital takes a bucketful as tribute; and ever day Lunda appear or are summoned to drink and talk. A Kazembe is chosen largely for his knowledge of Lunda affairs, but always the combined information of the aristocrats must be greater than that of Kazembe himself. They often discuss appointments to positions.

The aristocrats also meet to choose a new king. Some of the aristocrats have special roles in the installation ceremony, in which the king is first silenced by having a leaf put in his mouth. The aristocrats then lecture him on kingship. For the first few weeks of a reign he is very much under the control of the aristocrats, who say when he may come out of a temporary installation hut in the palace grounds and move into the palace itself. While the king

finds his feet, the aristocrats help him. But after his installation the aristocrats are not the only power in the land. Soon after his accession Kazembe XV called a ceremonial gathering, and addressed the aristocrats in terms that left no room for doubt about who was the king. But he still has to be careful in his treatment of the aristocrats, and in particular has to strike a true balance in his attitude to them and to his mother's clan. Should Kazembe feel offended by an aristocrat (as occurred when KALANDALA was speaking to a man through the court window while Kazembe was addressing the court) and show displeasure, all the other aristocrats available start a series of negotiations between the king and the aristocrat concerned, which ends in a meeting in which the king first shows great politeness, then showers hospitality on the recalcitrant. History suggests that in extremity very real steps could be taken against the reigning king.

But action against the king is not the final sanction against the king's breach of tradition. The final sanction is in a sort of alliance between the living aristocrats and the spirits of the dead Kazembes, who have a considerable power over the king, appearing to him in dreams and so on. But the aristocrats, by grumbling among themselves, can hasten the attention of the spirits to the king's lapse of custom: the spirits can hear the aristocrats grumbling, and brings sickness upon him as a result.

The aristocrats alone of the Lunda have their roots in Kola, the home of Mwata Yamvo. Some of their names are older even than the name of Kazembe. They have grown up with the kingship, and although holders of the names have died, the traditions of history and custom have not died with them but have been carried on through their successors to the present day. They feel the kingship belongs to them; if the kingship dies or is spoilt, then that is the end of them. They respect the kingship but they do not necessarily respect the king. Although they do not always take action against the king if he displeases them, power always reverts to them on the king's death, when they can set about returning the kingship on its proper course and assuring their own position for the future.

The account of the kingship just given represents the barest sketch of its structure and leaves many questions unanswered. But I hope enough is given to help place it in the wider society, and to fill out the particular argument of this book.

The Spread of Lundahood

Lundahood is a living thing. It is continually being reasserted and its scope extends far beyond the immediate circle of king, royal family and aristocrats. But there are grades within Lundahood. Some are Lunda through royal birth, others through aristocratic birth, others through appointment to offices, others through marriage, others because of the honour shown by the kingship to the original Owners of the Land, others through prolonged residence in the country and allegiance to the kingship. It would perhaps be better to say that people attain Lunda insignia—cloth and belt—for these reasons; for those in the last three categories may well retain their original tribal designations. They say they are Shila, Chishinga, etc., but at the same time say they are Lunda because they have the insignia.

As we saw, the aristocrats are ranked and each has title to certain kinds of insignia, to certain royal accoutrements like broadswords, musical instruments, and also to certain ancillary offices. They, with the princes, were in the past all circumcised. Princes are however lower in rank than aristocrats: they initiate greetings and wear an inferior kind of *mukonso* skirt on ceremonial occasions. The royal gravekeepers, stemming from the *bacanuma* of each reign, are given the cowskin belt with a special white robe.

The charter for giving Lundahood to people who cannot claim Lunda ancestry derived from Mwata Yamvo who made the Lualaba chiefs into Lunda by blessing and investiture. Kazembe carried on this tradition. When Kazembe first reached the Luapula he gave to MATANDA, whose people ferried him across, royal feathers and a gong, as well as a slogan which could be played on the talking drum. Later when Kazembe gained the country of the Luapula he invested first NKUBA and then other Shila and Bwilile Owners of the Land with cloth and belt when they came to see him. From time to time he also invested people, even strangers, who had been appointed to a *mwanso* office. SESA, for instance, a hereditary magician to the king, although part Chishinga and part Shila, has the Lunda cloth. Latterly, Kazembe wanted to honour KAPESA, the Chishinga sub-chief of the Mununshi Valley since about 1890, because of his long residence there, but the aristocrats refused because he did not honour them properly. People who would be entitled to cloth if they asked for it are numerous; and

indeed there is an investiture about once a month during the year.

The original holder of a name or office to be granted does not pay for it. When he dies, the insignia are buried with him and subsequent holders of the name each pay for investiture. It may be a successor's own private circumstances which decide him to take a cloth or to neglect it. One hears of names being lost to Lundahood for some time until a later incumbent decides to resume the ties. Many of the Owners of the Land, for instance, are Shila and Bwilile living far away from the capital, and if they are in the Congo have no Administrative ties with Kazembe.

The Lunda do not readily give cloth to people who are lacking in respect for the kingship. When the Shila, CHITIMUNA, visited the capital from his village in the Congo, it was discussed whether or not to give him cloth (which his predecessor had been given); and it was decided not to because this was his first visit since his succession to office. Later he brought presents of *cinkumvi* slit-drums and was afterwards given the cloth. It was the same with KAINDU who, it will be remembered, sided with the Yeke and thereafter lived in a Yeke chiefdom: his first visit to give allegiance was followed by three other visits bearing tribute: he then got his cloth.

The ceremony of investiture (*kufwika*) is elaborate, and there are variations according to the different offices involved. It takes place on the open space to the east of the palace except for holders of *mwanso* offices of a domestic nature, whose investiture takes place inside the grounds. The ceremony (*mutentamo*—any ceremonial gathering) takes place about four in the afternoon, heralded by much drumming; and always attracts a great crowd of onlookers. Together the drums, the insignia, the slogans uttered, the presence of Kazembe and a crowd of aristocrats dancing in the peculiar Lunda fashion go to impress Lundahood on the recipient, who may seldom see such things in his outlying village.

The man to be invested provides the necessary money (about £2). The elders of his lineage take this to Kazembe beforehand. The cloth is bought and sewn in a local shop; there is always at hand a stock of belts from the hide of slaughtered royal cattle. At the ceremony Kazembe is on his throne, brought out for the occasion, with the *Mwadi* beside him and other wives on mats at

his feet. The drums are on the opposite side of the clear dancing place. The ceremony opens with dancing by a troupe of girls, by the aristocrats and possibly by Kazembe himself. In front of Kazembe is a basin containing cloth and belt. Kazembe calls a representative of the lineage who takes the cloth away and clothes the successor in it. The successor then approaches with his followers. They go to the king's mat, where they kneel down and rub dust on their faces, while the women ululate. Then in turn the king, the aristocrats and anyone else interested address the man on the nature of his office. Kazembe especially lays stress on the name which is being brought out, tracing its history and its relationship with the kingship, and mentioning praise-names connected with it. If the man is a junior Lunda Kazembe exhorts him to respect the great aristocrats and remember his duties or tribute. If he is a headman Kazembe gives him the stock advice on headmanship: subjects are like oil, they drip away; they are like grass seeds, they blow away in the wind; a headman is like a fool, he turns his head from side to side (listening to and not taking sides in arguments); a headman is only a commoner (to the king), he should not fear the jealousy of his fellows. Invariably there is reference to the faults, or alleged faults, in the man's character which will make him fail in office. There is more dancing until the king retires about sunset. The newly invested Lunda is borne out of the palace on the shoulders of two servants and taken to a house in the capital. Here he sits, and some of the royal objects—the broadsword in its otter-skin sheath, the carved axe, the royal *mwiko* (flat wooden spoon for stirring the king's meal) and some basins—are placed on a mat before him. There is drumming and dancing until the man 'pays' the objects two or three francs apiece. Then he is carried back on the servants' shoulders to his village if it is nearby, always followed by the royal band.

The recipient later wears the cloth if he attends a meeting of the Lunda in the capital, and possibly he may wear it at a wedding. Through it he acquires no special privileges or duties. It does not for instance of itself give him the privilege of eating from the royal kitchen and he does not do so unless he is very close to royalty or aristocracy. All it does is to give him the right to wear Lunda cloth and belt. Having received the cloth he cannot have it taken away, and if Lunda are displeased with his behaviour the punishment is refusal to give cloth to his successor. According to the manner in

which the holder of a name behaves, the name itself 'grows' or 'shortens' in Lunda eyes. If it grows, the successor may have a more elaborate ceremony in the capital. If it shortens, then the cloth may be denied: in the old days it could be 'shortened' by the physical punishment of the incumbent.

The significance of investiture is in the link created at the time of the original ceremony and kept alive by the Lunda cloth in the recipient's village and by the investiture of future holders of the name or office. I stress again that the recipients are not necessarily Lunda by tribe, nor do they all come from the present country of Kazembe. CHISHYA, an aristocrat with a village of his own in Chishinga country (independent since the 1920s), has his Lunda cloth there; on the Congo bank of the river there are many cloths belonging (to mention a few) to KABIMBI and KAINDU (Lunda aristocrats), to NKAMBO and TWITE (Bwilile Owners of the Land), to NKUBA, MUTEBA and LUBINDA (Shila). In spite of NKUBA's position as 'chief wife' of the Lunda, and his ascendancy over Owners of the Land, he gets only a small cloth because his Lundahood is only 'honorary'. Other important Shila successions are regulated by NKUBA himself; it is generally only the Shila living near Kazembe that regularly receive cloth although all are entitled to it if they ask. Those Shila who have it currently on the east bank are MULUMBWA, MUKAMBA, KAPALA and LWAMPWE. The predecessor of MULWE had it but the present incumbent did not bother about it.

There is another, negative aspect to investiture. There are names which would appear to have qualifications for investiture but which have never been invested. I am thinking particularly of LUBUNDA, MULUNDU and KASHOBWE. The first two are Chishinga chiefs of the upper valley who (with their brother KATUTA) are all in the country of Kazembe. KASHOBWE is the Yeke chief who rules in Chibondo on the west bank, under whom KAINDU is a sub-chief in the Administration. All have been offered cloth, but have refused to accept it, saying they are not Lunda. LUBUNDA claims that he came from Mwata Yamvo and agrees with the Lunda history which concerns him (above, p. 152). He has the *lubembo* gong of Lundahood in his relic hut. But he now claims to be Chishinga. However the Lunda now see him as an Owner of the Land for they found him on the Luapula, and thus offered him cloth. But the Lunda cannot force Lundahood on their subjects.

In this way Lundahood is spread over the country. Along the

valley there are centres of Lundahood, where Lunda customs are valued and carried out, the Lunda dialect is spoken, Lunda history is talked, Lunda drums play Lunda slogans and dances, and where Lunda songs are sung. The most important of these centres are the courts of the Lunda who are chiefs: Kambwali, Kanyembo, Lukwesa and KASHIBA; and, across the river, KABIMBI, NKAMBO¹ and KAINDU. Throughout the country there are minor centres in the villages or by the dwellings of Lunda headmen and aristocrats.

In this chapter I attempted an outline of the organization of the dominant tribe. The Lunda appear as a tribal group with an internal organization which is not repeated in any of the other tribes of the valley. I tried to show the kind of vested interest which the centrally placed members of the group have in its continuation and in its customs. Clearly also not only those most closely involved in it, but many others as well, gain more or less temporary advantage and status through their various connections with it. But while these connections exist they do not imply that the exclusiveness of the Lunda is in danger. Lunda aristocrats use a complex prestige-laden paraphernalia of custom to maintain their position; later it will be seen that the other groups also have interests in maintaining their identity.

¹ NKAMBO is strictly an Owner of the Land, but his kinship with MWINE-MPANDA, his perpetual father, has led him to claim Lundahood and act in many respects as if he were Lunda (cf. above, p. 109).

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL AUTHORITY AND ALLEGIANCE

THE last chapter brought out some of the connections between kingship and commoners in the field of kinship and in the spread of Lundahood. In this chapter I am concerned with the relationships of commoners with Kazembe in respect of the two roles he now fills, that as head of the chieftainship (*bufumu*) and as a link in the chain of administration (*buteko*) which includes in its higher ranks the representatives of a foreign power.

Reconstruction

The earliest inhabitants of the Luapula Valley knew no chiefs. The Shila laughed at the Bwilile because they did not know the meaning of tribute. Subjection was a new thing brought by the Shila, whose leader, NKUBA, was the first person to bring a large part of the country under single control. Shila times are too remote for information to be forthcoming about the political organization of NKUBA's country. All we know is that he put his relatives in various places either alongside the Bwilile or in parts of the country previously unoccupied, and that he organized tribute from the Bwilile and from his own people through these district representatives. Most of these Shila 'chiefs' now live as village headmen on or near their original sites, as do many of the original Bwilile.

When the Lunda settled in the valley they respected the ritual ability of the people they found there but at the same time made their presence felt in many ways. They became accepted as the ruling class by the Bwilile, the Shila, and the immigrants who came to settle on the Luapula at later dates. They were more powerfully organized than any of the other component groups. It became a dogma that the work of the Shila was to fish, and the work of the Lunda was to govern. Lunda dominance appeared in their courts, their armies, their rights to tribute and their monopoly of the ivory trade. And although they respected the land ritual of the natives, the Lunda added their own ritual and controlled the native ritual to some extent.

From the capital of Kazembe, governors, who were Lunda

aristocrats, were sent out to cover most of the country under Kazembe's domination. Wherever governors went, a system of communications and tribute was set up between the outlying capital and the metropolis. The governors were also responsible for warning the king of the approach of hostile warriors, and for taking active steps to deflect them from the centre of the country. Kazembe did not generally send governors to unoccupied parts of the country but sent them to cover Owners of the Land in their respective districts. Each district capital was a centre of Lunda-hood. Members of the family of the aristocrat concerned would accompany him to his *iyanga* (colony) and Kazembe would also appoint other Lunda to go and swell the numbers. Each capital was fenced and ditched, and the governor lived inside a fence of his own. Much of the custom of the governors was a reflection of the custom in Kazembe's capital, which in turn was supposed to reflect that of Mwata Yamvo.

The Lunda army seems to have been created for the eastward migration: the various sections of the army each had their own commanders; there were pathfinders out in front, and so on. But in the capital or the outlying districts there never seems to have been regimentation. Although Lunda men were circumcised, circumcision was in no way connected with an age organization answering military needs. Each aristocrat had his own following (*mpuka*). This following was made up of members of all tribes, not necessarily of Lunda alone. KASHINGE for instance told me that in his father's army on Kilwa Island the Bwilile of KAPONTO and the Shila of MAKAMBA joined in with his own Lunda. This seems regularly to have been the case unless the original inhabitants were actually in revolt against the Lunda as happened from time to time with the Chishinga. The army was composed of every male active enough to take arms. In each army there was perhaps one gun, although after the Arabs came there were probably more; otherwise men were armed with the *mpok* broadsword, spears, and bows and poisoned arrows; and they were protected by shields made of a light wood immersed in water before use. The shields were painted with zebra stripes. The army of Kazembe himself was composed of people who lived in or near his capital. Each prince was a possible army leader, but I do not know whether each had his own followers or took to war men from the king's army.

If warfare was necessary for attack or defence, Kazembe would

appoint one or more aristocrats to lead their armies against the enemy. He had previously approved office-bearers for the army of each aristocrat. Equivalent offices existed also in his own army; and the officers were Lunda, frequently relatives of the aristocrat whom they served. Kazembe alone kept the war medicine (*nkawo*) and in case of war would send some of it to the army which was to fight. If the aristocrat's army failed, then Kazembe would order a prince to lead an army from the capital, and only if that failed would he go to war himself.

The army officers were also assessors of the aristocrat's court (*cilye*). It is difficult to determine the extent to which cases arising among natives would be brought to a Lunda governor. It is said that if a case was settled privately among the natives a report of it would be taken to the governor who would state his agreement with or dissent from the judgment. Presumably all cases in which a Lunda was concerned would reach the governor's ears. It is probable that most cases among the Shila or Bwilile would be settled by some means through the *cikolwe* of their group, particularly if they were some distance from the governor's capital. But a case involving the shedding of blood would be taken to the governor who, before it was heard, demanded payment of *ciropa*—usually a woman—for 'looking upon the blood'. In cases of all kinds the governor would himself listen to the litigants first to try and settle it out of court; if he failed, he would hand the case to his assessors and then hear only the verdict. The party declared innocent would pay to the governor *makalansambu* by which his innocence was formally recognized. The court of Kazembe was organized in the same way except that he had an additional officer who was chief councillor, the *Mwadyamwata*.

Various slogans express the impartiality of assessors and governors in their capacity as judges. Of a governor it is said: 'I do not play with my own son: if he is foolish I should put him to death'; and of the *Mwadyamwata*: 'The man with the knife may have to kill himself with it.'¹ When Kazembe was about to appoint a *Mwadyamwata*, he would have him slap his mother's face: if he refused, he would find another man for the post.

Kazembe himself might want to hear especially important

¹ *Nkakailwa na mivana, mivana atumpa bamulanga mbala panshi, and Muntu ukwete kayembe ka kwitapo mivane.*

cases, particularly on matters connected with warfare. For these, a *mutentamo* gathering would be called and Lunda would come in from far and wide on the appointed day to help in discussion. Kazembe seldom heard a case in his own court. He would hear both sides and try to settle the matter without the necessity of a court judgment. If he failed, he would send the case to an aristocrat, either one of those permanently in the capital or one paying a temporary visit. The aristocrat would then inform Kazembe of his verdict. If the aristocrat failed he would send the case to Kazembe for hearing. But there was no appeal from an aristocrat's court to Kazembe's. A litigant might approach Kazembe after a verdict, but he would be answered: 'My power is no greater than that of the aristocrats; and where my mothers have judged, I have nothing to add.' Other cases heard by Kazembe, in the presence of the aristocrats, were those concerning members of the royal family: these were conducted inside the palace fence, privately.

In a case of homicide a governor had as much authority as Kazembe himself to order the death of the murderer. Informants could envisage homicide only as a corollary to adultery. A cuckold might kill his wife's lover. Normally revenge was not taken immediately by the adulterer's family for fear of the heavy payment the governor or king would demand for 'looking upon the blood'. The court would then order the death of the murderer, and his wife would be given to the king (and a governor would transmit her to the king). If the murder took place within one family the fact was even then brought to the notice of a court, otherwise the court would charge them with harbouring a murderer.

Some forms of sorcery were punishable by death. A sorcerer was burned in the bush. The use of sorcery to kill, or to send illness, or to steal cassava from neighbours' gardens, and the use of *mama naleta* sorcery to fill one's fish and game nets (which implied killing off members of one's family for their spirits to drive the game) were reckoned grave offences. The case would be brought against the suspect by the victim's family. The court would then call a magician to administer the *mwafi* ordeal.¹ A man might not

¹ Any ordeal was called *mwafi*. The expression to undergo an ordeal is *kunwo mwafi*, lit. to drink *mwafi*. *Mwafi* is a tree (*erythrophloeum guineense*), and although the ordeal was sometimes to drink medicine made from this tree, the

be tried twice in *mwafi* for the same offence. Here again there was no appeal to a king's ordeal: 'What obtains in the capital obtains also in the rain (i.e. in the outlying districts)'.¹ But from the information I could gather, it seems that the magicians would administer *mwafi* only on instructions of the Lunda. It was also used as a test of guilt in other matters such as adultery.

A few misdemeanours were regarded as crimes against the state. Homicide and sorcery, and possibly adultery, had to come before Lunda courts, although the matter was usually raised by the family of the victim. But the real crime against the state was slander of the king or of the Lunda, or treasonable talk. Kazembe made some of his *kapole* palace-servants into spies, called *ntalanamenso*. They were sent out to parts of the country where reports of bad talk had been received. They made no secret of their presence, and even had a special dress, a form of trousers. Kazembe also had his constables (*fikola*) who would break up fights in the capital and bring disturbers of the peace to account for themselves. The governors may also have had spies and constables. I do not know whether or not the magicians who had the power of detecting sorcerers were primarily at the service of the state.

Punishments in case of offences against the state were laid down by Kazembe. They were usually physical: the cutting off of fingers, ears or nose.² Kazembe had a special officer, the *katamatwi* ('cutter of ears') who carried an instrument like a large pair of scissors for this purpose. For Lunda, a different form of punishment was reserved: they were bound in a large fishing-basket and thrown into the water, in the manner in which Mutanda Yembembe killed Chinyanta on the Lualaba.

A regular supply of tribute was a responsibility of district governors. The tribute was collected both from the natives and from the Lunda. Usually it would be taken to the capital by the aristocrat himself, although aristocrats say they would give the task to Owners of the Land from time to time in case the Owner suspected the aristocrat was receiving many gifts from Kazembe

boiling water ordeal, also called *mwafi*, seems to have been the most commonly used.

¹ *Icili ku musumba e cili ku mfula*.

² Lunda regarded this as a mild form of punishment. They contrast it with the Bemba who, they say, used to cut off the whole hand of malefactors.

in return. Kazembe was a clearing-house for tribute. In the capital, the tribute was divided amongst important Lunda, and the king would send tribute of fish from the Luapula to the governors in the forest, while the products of the bush, like honey and caterpillars, would be sent to governors in the swamp or islands. For these purposes each governor appointed two or three men to maintain a shuttle service between his capital and the metropolis. In return for the tribute Owners of the Land would receive Lunda insignia and in some cases women from Kazembe.

Tribute included ivory. This was abundant. There was a ready sale for it and only Kazembe might sell it. It was for this reason that the main encampment of the Arabs in the country was beside the capital. Commoners would barter things with Arabs, including slaves (local people enslaved in settlement of a lawsuit), copper and food, but Kazembe had the monopoly of ivory. Trade had been going on between Kazembe and the east coast from the early days of settlement, through Bisa and Yao middlemen.¹

Tribute labour also came from the outlying districts to the capital. Labour from within each district was used for building fortifications of district capitals and the governors' fences, while labour from the districts in turn was used for building the fortifications of the metropolis and repairing the king's fence. People captured in war might also have been forced to work.

The Lunda thus had a fairly firm control over their country, at least in the areas immediately surrounding their scattered centres. One assumes that away from these centres the natives lived as they pleased with little interference from Lunda authority. Although they were officially under a governor they probably carried on their old chiefless form of existence more or less unharried. When later immigrants came, however, they came voluntarily to be under Lunda authority. They already knew the proper behaviour towards chiefs, for the whole surrounding territory was under chiefs. They knew they would be protected by, receive justice from, and give tribute to any chief under whom they chose to live.

Native Authorities

When the British came to administer the country they did so

¹ De Lacerda, 'Information Touching the proposed Cazembe expedition', p. 35.

first through the British South Africa Company.¹ They fixed a definite boundary to Kazembe's country and within it they encouraged Kazembe to give chieftainships to members of his own family,² and the chiefdoms thus established also had definite boundaries. The aristocrats lost their positions as governors (with the exception of KASHIBA) and no longer had formal courts, and the judicial power of Kazembe himself was greatly curtailed. No native courts were recognized: informal courts which arose at the seats of the new chiefdoms had the work of conciliation only. There was no native power to enforce judgments or to punish. All cases which could not be settled to the satisfaction of both parties in these informal courts were sent to Company magistrates, who also alone officially had the power of granting divorces. Members of the informal courts were unpaid. Those who received token payment at this period were those (the chiefs and some headmen) who had responsibility of collecting tax money from their areas.

In 1924 the administration was transferred to the British Crown.³ Direct rule lasted until 1930 when Native Courts and Native Authorities were recognized.⁴ Through these, there was to be some authority to answer for the behaviour of every person. Lists of villages were drawn up, and lists of men who lived in these villages. Each man over the apparent age of eighteen was given an identity card (*citupa*) upon which was written his name, the name of his village, and the name of his chiefdom. The informal chiefs' courts were given certain powers, and chiefs and assessors were paid.⁵ The Native Authorities were to be responsible for the administration and development of the country.

¹ The charter was the North-Eastern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1900.

² A caveat is necessary here: the only information I could obtain about the demise of aristocrats as governors came from the aristocrats themselves: they put it down to British influence.

³ Northern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1924 (Northern Rhodesia Government Gazette no. 211 of 1924).

⁴ Native Courts Ordinance, cap. 5 of the Laws of Northern Rhodesia, 1930, and Native Authorities Ordinance, cap. 57 of the Laws of Northern Rhodesia, 1930; and the Native Courts Ordinance, no. 10 of 1936, cap. 158 of the Laws of Northern Rhodesia.

⁵ In 1950, Kazembe was paid £15 a month, and the chiefs varying sums, about £6 a month, according to the population of their chiefdoms and the

The Native Administration now consists of one Senior Native Authority at Kazembe, and seven subordinate Native Authorities at Kambwali, Kanyembo, Lukwesa, Lubunda, Kashiba, Mulundu and Katuta. The Authority at Kazembe is at the same time the Native Authority of the metropolitan chiefdom, and the head of the seven other Native Authorities. These are all under the British Administration based at Kawambwa, which is also in charge of the administration of neighbouring Shila and Chishinga Native Authorities. Kawambwa District is part of the Northern Province with headquarters at Kasama in Bemba country; but for a few years after 1947 it was made an isolated part of the Western Province, with headquarters at Ndola, on account of the close links existing with the Copperbelt labour centres.

The Senior Native Authority has Kazembe as its head. Under him he has a number of young men called 'secretaries', each of whom is responsible for a sector of administration, or of 'development' as they prefer to call it, both in the metropolitan chiefdom and in the other chiefdoms.¹ There are secretaries for education, hygiene, public works and agriculture. Their departments are under the general control of the Boma at Kawambwa, but technical advice comes from the British Administration's technical departments, of education, agriculture, etc. Each of these departments in the Senior Native Authority has its own staff. The agricultural department has a *kapaso*² who tours the country to see that gardens are properly weeded. The hygiene department has a *kapaso* to see that latrines are built and that house thatching is kept in good repair. The education department has a school attendance officer, and so on. The work of these departments and the running of the authority is in the hands of the principal of the secretaries.

The staff of civil servants is young and educated. Lunda are the first to admit that Lunda do not care for higher education. They are interested in the past and to a lesser extent in the future. They have fallen back upon the administration of the kingship and the guardianship of royal custom upon which their own position

length of their tenure of office. In the Native Authority, the 'secretaries' got nearly as much as the chiefs, and the assessors considerably less.

¹ The present tense refers here as throughout to the period of observation, 1948-51.

² *Kapaso*: uniformed messenger or constable employed by Administration or Native Authority.

as an aristocracy depends. Appointments to Senior Native Authority positions are in the hands of Kazembe, but he considers it proper to have the agreement of the aristocrats. Candidates must satisfy standards of education set by the British Administration. Thus although Lunda are appointed where possible, young men of any tribe may be appointed provided they are residents of the Luapula. There is more opportunity for Lunda and favourites of Kazembe to be appointed to the Native Authority positions of *kapaso* but even here the choice is not restricted to Lunda: the head *kapaso* is a Lungu and there are Chishinga *kapasos* as well.

There has thus been an important shift in the distribution of power. Kazembe (with KASHIBA far in the south) is the only person whose position is in any way comparable with what it was before the arrival of the Europeans. The aristocrats retain their power in the kingship which was formerly the most powerful institution. But though the aristocrats still have this power in the kingship the Native Authority is upheld by a power which has ultimate control over the kingship. MWINEMPANDA the aristocrat has authority now only in his own family and in matters of kingship in the capital. He lives in the chiefdom of Lukwesa in his own small section of another village. One cannot tell by looking at his house that it is one of a man of rank. His neighbours are for the most part Chishinga and only his own family and a few other Lunda are interested, when he is at home, that he is an important Lunda. They are aware that he is, but this hardly affects their attitude to him. Political rank is present to these people at the court of the more recently recognized chief Lukwesa.

Kazembe thus has to maintain a balance between the aristocrats who set him in his position and have lost their former political power, and the Native Authority which represents the power which could remove him from his office and yet is not traditional. Kazembe XIV was respected for his ability to look both forwards and backwards. He had a firm grasp of Lunda history, relationships and custom; at the same time he was regarded by the British as being one of the most progressive chiefs of Northern Rhodesia.

The civil servants are conscious of their powerful position against the aristocrats. They are paid: the aristocrats are not. They are educated: the aristocrats are not. They know and talk with officers of the British Administration: the aristocrats do not. They

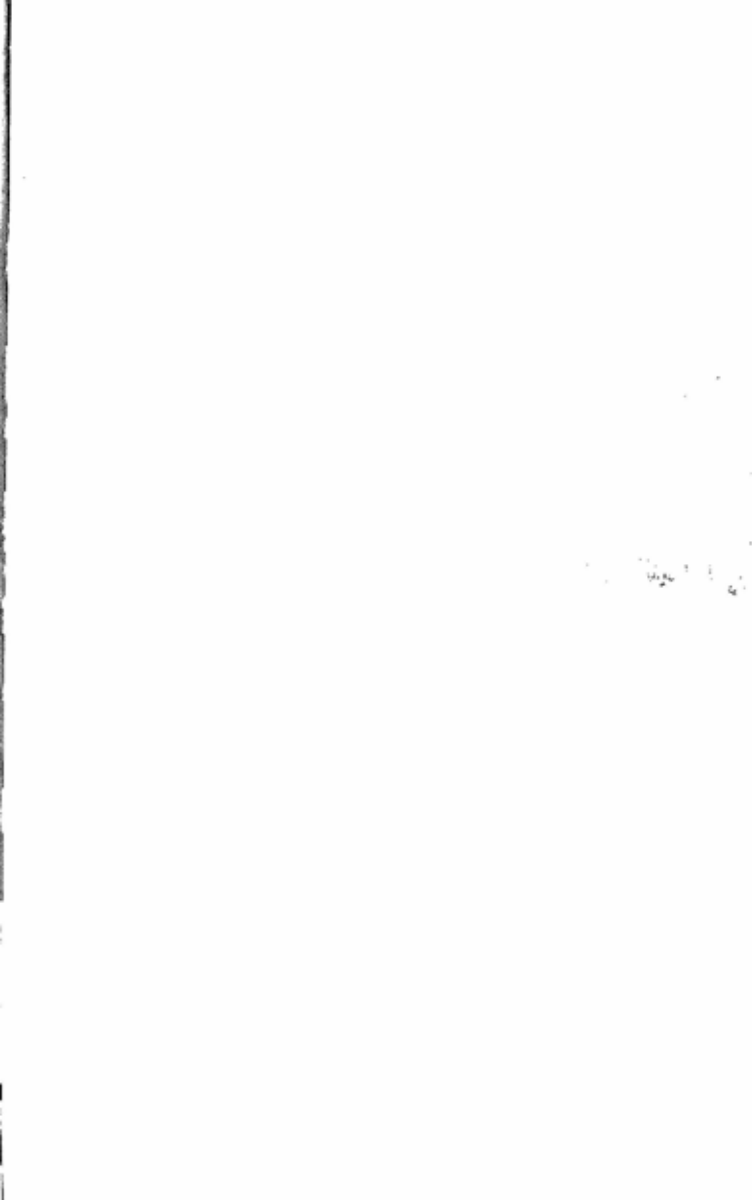
know they are on the same progressive plank as the British against the aristocrats who must be conservative to hold their positions. Kazembe realizes this also, and takes pains to preserve a balance. When the five secretaries prepared a draft speech for Kazembe to deliver to an important visiting official, they described themselves as 'the five fingers of the right hand of Kazembe'; the king struck the sentence out of his speech before he delivered it.

Just as it is almost impossible for aristocrats to speak alone to the king, so with civil servants. Those who surround him help him to be impartial. The situation is forced also upon officers of the British Administration, one of whom complained to me that the only way he could speak to Kazembe privately was to take him for aimless runs in the front of his small truck. At the same time civil servants and young men like them fear the jealousy of the aristocrats. The 'Lunda National Association' met from time to time in order that young, educated men might discuss points to bring before the Administration. They would never talk without the presence of one or other of the aristocrats resident in the capital.

The Senior Native Authority is a busy place, and to help the secretaries in their work there is a staff of amanuenses, treasury clerks, postal clerks, court clerks and *kapasos*. I indicate only a few of the kinds of affairs with which the Authority deals. Estimates for 1950 were around £6,000.¹ Money comes in from fines, licence fees and taxes, and these payments are daily dealt with. The money is spent on the upkeep of certain motor roads (which implies annual hoeing, at the end of the rains) and the maintenance of channels through the swamp. It is spent on building, maintaining and staffing three Native Authority Schools as well as many dispensaries. It was spent in 1950 in buying a bus, and is spent in maintaining and staffing it. The money is also spent on running an institute for the blind and another for the insane. These are the most important expenditures. There is much other incidental work.

Staffs of the Native Authorities in the subordinate chiefdoms are smaller. There are no secretaries, but a few clerks and *kapasos* who help the chief to carry out instructions which come from the Authority at Kazembe, to collect taxes, and to issue licences.

¹ I am informed that by 1956 this sum was enormously greater.





(a) The councillors of the court of Kazembe, 1951. Chief councillor Chipepa on left. Third from left: Thomas Kazembe, then on a visit from the Copperbelt, who later became chief councillor.



(b) Native Authority officials at Chomba village to discuss the establishment of parishes with a group of village headmen. The chief council official sits at the table. The headmen are the five on deckchairs.

Native Authorities comprise the administrative sectors mentioned and courts. When courts were recognized in 1930 much power was returned to them; but all the cases dealt with in Native Courts are subject to review by the District Commissioner. The power of dealing with cases involving homicide and sorcery accusations (as well as cases involving Europeans as litigants or witnesses) is reserved to the British Magistrate at Kawambwa, whose office is combined with that of District Commissioner: but cases involving sorcery accusations are frequently heard by Native Courts and reported to the British under another guise. The punitive power of the Senior Court of Kazembe is limited to giving sentences of up to six months' imprisonment with hard labour, and ten strokes of the lash, both being supervised by the British Administration at Kawambwa, and of imposing fines of up to £20. Damages may be awarded up to £100.

A full range of appeal courts has been instituted. This is quite a new development since there were no courts of appeal in the indigenous legal structure. There are two courts at the Senior Native Authority. The lower of these is on a par with the courts in other chiefdoms. From these, there is appeal to the Appeal Court of Kazembe. This consists of the same people as the lower court there, although an attempt may be made to find an additional assessor if the original hearing has been at Kazembe's lower court. From this appeal court the litigant 'climbs the hill' to the British Magistrate's court at Kawambwa. Assessors usually deter litigants from doing so by claiming it unlikely they will get more favourable treatment on top: and indeed threaten recalcitrant litigants that they will be made to 'climb the hill' to what they say will be a far stricter court.

From these courts there is much correspondence and exchange of information with the courts upon which Kazembe's representatives sit in the Copperbelt towns and at Elisabethville and Jadotville in the Congo.

Men chosen for assessorships—there are five at Kazembe and two or three at each of the other courts—are not necessarily of a high standard of education, but they are chosen for their knowledge of customary law and their good character. They are selected in the same way as other members of Native Authority staffs. They have to meet with the approval of the British Administration. The British prefer these men to be young and progressive,

for a part of their work is to see that development plans are going properly; and they take an active part, at Kazembe, in discussions with British officials. Thus when the courts were first recognized some of the assessors were old aristocrats. These have now been removed and replaced by younger men. Nor again are they necessarily Lunda: two of the five assessors at Kazembe are Chishinga.

In court procedure the traditional system is in part followed. Kazembe and his chiefs do not sit in their courtrooms. First the litigants take their case to the window of the room in which the chief is sitting. The chief speaks to them through the window and tries to settle the matter out of court. If this fails, he sends the litigants to the court which later gives the chief an account of the handling of the case. This is another aspect of the impartiality incumbent on a chief. This appears even in domestic cases. Some Leopard Clansmen were in difficulties over the filling of a vacant position within their lineage. They took the matter to Kazembe, who listened with sympathy to their case, but pronounced: 'I cannot judge this matter: for if I were to choose a man, and then he turned out badly, you would blame me for the choice.'

The modern equivalent of the constables (*fikola*) are the *kapasos*. They seek those who break the law and bring them to court. Much of their time is spent in finding people who have evaded taxes or licence fees. They often act as detectives to ferret out information in difficult suits. They also help to keep the peace in the capitals. They still seek out those who talk ill of the kingship. The control of fishing activities is under special *kapasos* who are employees of the British Administration and not of the Native Authorities. They scour the swamps for unlicensed nets. These fish-guards are generally unpopular with the people who claim they trade on their position as employees of the British Administration, and show disrespect for chiefs' courts. Whereas most of the Native Authority employees are local men, fish-guards are for the most part strangers, and moreover they live alongside the local inhabitants in houses built by the British Administration, which are much better and larger than the local houses. The people are anxious because this part of the Administration by-passes their own authorities to which they readily give allegiance.

Outside fish control the people see little direct representation of the British Administration. The *kapasos* of the Administration are based at Kawambwa. These Boma messengers in their bright red

and blue uniforms take little active part in the work of administering Lunda country. They come from time to time, but it is usually to take messages to the Senior Native Authority. At other times they make their appearance on errands regarding affairs which for some reason have become the direct responsibility of the British Administration: for example to get information about a case which has been sent to the Boma for adjudication. Likewise the British officers deal mainly with the Native Authorities, and discuss important matters first with the Senior Native Authority at Kazembe. The indigenous authority of Kazembe serves well the cause of indirect rule.

Allegiance through the Authorities

Allegiance to Kazembe takes two main paths. One is through the Native Authority system imposed by the British. This path leads by the Native Authorities and the persons of their chiefs to the Senior Native Authority and the person of the king. From there it leads to the British Administration and the persons of District Commissioner, Provincial Commissioner, and so on. The other path is through the chiefs to the kingship or to the kingship directly in the traditional way. It is traditional in so far as the forms which allegiance to the king takes are traditional: for although the system has changed from governorships to chieftainships and the persons involved in the hierarchy have also changed, many of the forms of allegiance have remained similar. It could perhaps be claimed that this allegiance is now extended to the British monarch. The name of King George was mentioned with reverence by all the Luapula peoples of Rhodesia, for to them he represented the defender of the kingship and the African way of life. His photograph in many houses bore witness to the admiration in which they held him. To the people of the Luapula Valley he was the defence against settler interests; to them a much-needed defence since, in their view, the domination of Colonial Office policy by settler policy might result in a change of status of their land from Native Trust Territory to something less favourable. But the Lunda kingship is in contact with the British monarchy only through the British Administration at Kamambwa, or on occasion through visiting high officials of the Northern Rhodesian Administration. Although Kazembe met the Prince of Wales in 1925 he was not, to the great chagrin of himself and the Lunda,

presented to King George VI at Victoria Falls in 1947 as one of the most important Northern Rhodesian chiefs. The British monarchy is thus associated more with the Native Authorities than with the indigenous kingship.

It is not always clear whether allegiance deriving from an activity is directed through the kingship or the Authorities, through *bufumu* or *buteko*. There are instances in which the Administration has taken over from the kingship control of affairs which had traditionally been arbitrated by the former. The land for instance still 'belongs' to Kazembe but political land disputes formerly settled by war can be settled now only by the Administration.

I consider first allegiance in the Native Authority system. We saw in Chap. V that everyone must live in a village. The setting up of villages is controlled by Kazembe through the Native Authority. Every village is registered, and every adult male in a village is registered. Each headman must be able to account to the Native Authority for the whereabouts of his villagers. The Native Authority must likewise account to the Senior Native Authority, and that finally to the British Administration. A stranger on a visit to Lunda country, however protracted his stay may be, remains registered with his own Native Authority, but he must obey the laws imposed by the Native Authorities on the Luapula. If a man fails to register himself when he becomes adult he and his headman are punished by the Native Authority. The purpose of registration is primarily the control of tax-collecting, but the registration itself is used for the control of other activities.

Most men and many women have occasion to visit the Authority office from time to time. When they go there they show proper humility by removing their hats and talking with respect. The clerks, who are busy, may have to make them wait for some time before they can be attended to. The Native Authorities control many everyday activities of the citizens and these citizens must make their own arrangements with the Native Authority before they carry them out. If one wants to marry or divorce; to go to a European centre in the Congo or Rhodesia; to own a bicycle, dog or gun; to hunt, work a fishing net or cut down a hardwood tree; to set up a store or tearoom, to brew beer or run a beer-house; one must first have permission from the Native Authority in the shape of a licence paid for and stamped.

The Authorities are not only permissive but they can order people under them to undertake certain activities. Labour is required for carrying out some of the developmental plans. Small, short-term jobs are open to those who would make some money by helping with building programmes, tending sapling farms and so on. But the annual tasks of weeding and hoeing the roads or of clearing the swamp channels, and the periodic work of building new roads, require more paid labour than can be had voluntarily. These tasks may involve a period of living in specially built camps away from home. So they are unpopular, and the labour is compulsory. The Authority sends *kapasos* to seek men temporarily in their villages and scant hearing is given to those who would refuse. It is a well-tried device to hide in fishing camps when the rains are drawing to an end to avoid the month of road-clearing. An Authority can compel men who are registered in its books.

Compulsory paid labour is one way in which the people are made to acknowledge their allegiance to the British Administration. From time to time workers are required to cut new roads (some of which are the responsibility of the British Administration, others of the Native Authorities) or to help clean the ground round the Boma at Kawambwa. This labour is found through Kazembe and other chiefs. But it is rather through taxation that British dominance is felt, although against the wealth of the Luapula the annual male head-tax of 10s. is not a burden.

The Native Authorities passed on their instructions until 1949 through headmen. In that year a parish system was instituted on the recommendation of the British Administration. By appointing intermediaries between Native Authorities and headmen it was hoped that better local control would ensue. For the purpose, parishes were made up of five or six adjacent villages. The headman of one of these was elected as parish head by the men of the whole parish. He was to be responsible for seeing that development works affecting his villages were properly carried out. Whereas formerly all headmen of a chiefdom would be called to the Native Authority for instructions, it is usual now for only parish heads to go. On important occasions however all headmen are still called. A parish is named not after its head but usually after the name of a valley or stream by which the parish is situated. But neither village headmen nor parish heads cut out direct relationships, in certain affairs, between individuals and Native

Authorities. Authority offices are still significant meeting-places for people from all parts of a chiefdom, and the Senior Native Authority for people from all parts of Kazembe's country.

The Native Authority is now established as the source of justice; for the courts are beside the offices, and it is only cases which arise within the royal family and possibly in aristocratic families which are heard by aristocrats and the king together in the palace grounds. A case goes first to the *cikolwe* of the lineage involved. If the two parties are in different lineages, the elders of each take part in the discussions. Young people readily go to their *cikolwe* or elders to discuss matters if they are in trouble. A matter of no great importance to the lineage as such may be taken straight to a headman. Otherwise it is usual for the *cikolwe* to refer the matter to the complainant's headman, but there is no objection if he goes directly to court. It is not necessary, but is the usual practice, for litigants to be introduced to the court by a senior. If a headman is called in to help—and this occurs normally if the litigants are of the same or neighbouring villages—he hears what the case is about and refers it, now, to the parish head. Some village headmen say they used to arbitrate but do not do so now in case the parish head is jealous of their power. The parish head simply writes the names of the litigants and the nature of the case and sends the parties to the court with the piece of paper. The case proceeds in the way described above, appellants going first to Kazembe's court and then to the British Magistrate.

A man's tribe makes no difference to his duty of allegiance. Three of Kazembe's chiefs are Chishinga (LUBUNDA, MULUNDU and KATUTA). A man may always have been in the country of Kazembe or else he may have come from outside to settle there. Whatever his tribe he immediately becomes subject to the Native Authority of the chiefdom where he elects to live, and to the chief, and through them to the Senior Native Authority and to Kazembe. A man who comes to settle may be attracted by the land, or by some relative, or by the kingship itself. But his allegiance is always to the chief of his chiefdom and to Kazembe. I have stressed that there is little tribal segregation in the Luapula Valley, and that people live intermingled. Thus there are members of most tribes in most chiefdoms. Towards the south, in the Chishinga chiefdoms of MULUNDU and KATUTA (I have not visited the latter) most of the villages, I am told, belong to Chishinga Rat

Clan headmen, but this does not preclude the possibility that members of other tribes may be present in their villages. Members of all tribes pay allegiance to the chief in whose country they happen to have settled. There are even Lunda headmen living in the country of, and under, the Chishinga chief LUBUNDA. Residence alone is what determines allegiance to Native Authorities.

The Chishinga chiefs must pay the same allegiance as the Lunda chiefs to the Senior Native Authority. They are called to the capital periodically. They obey the representatives of the Senior Native Authority sent to them with instructions, appeals go from their courts to Kazembe's court, and so on. They differ from the Lunda chiefs mainly in their traditional rituals of chieftainship.

People in general are not interested who their chief is. They know that living where they do they must live under a chief, and indeed they know no other way of living. A man with a suit is not necessarily drawn to the court of his own chief to get judgment, although there are a few matters in which only the Native Authority where he is registered is competent to act. Moreover people move about a great deal during the course of their lives both within and outside their own chieftom. Also, a very large part of the population is made up of people born outside Kazembe's country. I received the impression that people regarded all Native Authorities in the same light; and that courts were, so to speak, shops which sold judgments: people go to the court which is most convenient for them. It requires long settlement to develop devoted allegiance to a particular chief, and this condition is not present for all Luapula inhabitants.

A significant point of Native Authority government is this: whatever the tribe may be which has administrative control in a chieftom, this control is Lunda by definition. Government is the essence of Lundahood, and the fact that the Lunda are rulers sets them off from other tribes present. I have heard people say: 'The Lunda are those who rule us' and, in the same context: 'The Lunda are one with the Europeans.' Residents of Chishinga chiefdoms see that in fact their chiefs are just passing on the words of the Lunda. They see that money for the upkeep of roads and so on in their land comes from the Treasury at Kazembe. Kazembe can quash a judgment given in their courts. And when their chief dies, a direct representative of Kazembe (either an aristocrat or an assessor) comes to take over control during the interregnum.

Allegiance through the Chiefs

In the indigenous system of allegiance the same remarks apply about tribes: no matter to what tribe a man belongs, he is bound to show special respect to the chief in whose country he is living. When cases of disrespect to chiefs arise in courts, assessors always argue that wherever a man comes from he should know the kind of respect due to chiefs. Lunda hold that respect to chiefs is a part of the proper upbringing of a man wherever he is born. For this reason even strangers to the country are constrained to show proper respect to Luapula chiefs, and they are prosecuted if they fail to do so.

It is improper to address chiefs in the same way as commoners. When meeting a chief it is correct to remove one's hat, to crouch and clap the hands, saying, 'Greetings, oh Chief.' If one is cycling and meets a chief, one dismounts and removes the bicycle from the road and greets the chief as he passes. It is important when talking to a chief never to sit on a chair as high as his; most people show a reluctance to sit in a manner other than cross-legged on the ground. Although other people of eminence may be called chiefs (*mfumu*) out of respect by those who know them, these tokens of respect are enforceable only towards those who at present are the political chiefs of the Luapula.

The Bemba form of greeting chiefs by lying on one's back and clapping the hands is regarded by Lunda as being excessive and barbaric. I have only seen it done once, by a woman after a favourable court verdict. There is however a special greeting for Kazembe, which may be used towards other Lunda chiefs to flatter them. People sit cross-legged, lean forwards and rub the face with dust, saying 'Avidye, Mwata Yamvo, Kazembe Mpalumem, avidye kalombo mwan' in the western Lunda language. Luapula chiefs are sometimes called Mwata, properly reserved for Kazembe, and I have even heard the Chishinga LUBUNDA being addressed as *Mwata*.

All the chiefs are obliged to go to the capital when Kazembe or the kingship requires them. They normally travel attended by one or two *kapasos*. This is not a difficult matter: they simply board the Lunda bus and for official visits pay no fares. It was expected that after the death of Kazembe XIV the chiefs would come to offer respects and to hear for themselves the circumstances of

the death. All came or sent representatives except the Chishinga chief LUBUNDA. MWINEMPANDA, who was residing in the palace, regarded this as gross disrespect for the kingship. He arranged that the succeeding Kazembe should consider the matter inside his fence. It was regarded equally as an insult to the kingship when chief Kambwali (a prince) asked to be allowed to wear the special *mapango* headdress which the king alone wears. All such matters concerning the kingship are heard inside the fence. The kingship in this way avoids unwanted publicity; moreover it is said that Kazembe is far more lenient in imposing punishment than a court would be.

In honouring the kingship the chiefs also honour the aristocrats because they are closely connected with the kingship. Members of the royal family respect the aristocrats, even nowadays when they are made chiefs. It is they who initiate greeting and not the aristocrats, although the latter answer in much the same terms. The Chishinga chiefs should and do honour the aristocrats in the same way.

Tribute

Tribute was an important index of allegiance. Tribute today however is not what it was. It takes a number of different forms, of which the first to be considered is tribute labour.

Tribute labour, as distinct from compulsory paid labour, is used for two main tasks: building and repairing the palace fence, and preparing certain gardens. In the old days it was used also for digging the defensive trenches round the successive capitals. It is a heavy task to repair the palace fence, which is over a hundred yards each way. The lines of the fence are marked by rows of large trees, and the interstices are filled in with brushwood of the *kapempe* shrub, whence the name of the palace grounds: *ng'anda ya tupempe*. It is repaired every few years. The work is given to chiefs in turn, perhaps two chiefs being required to find men for a single occasion. Chiefs make their own arrangements for finding the men, and accompany them in person to the capital. It is customary for Kazembe to give beer to mark the end of the task.

Kazembe nowadays pays men to hoe the gardens of his wives, but there is another sort of royal garden, *cing'anda*, for which tribute labour is used. Most years, he has few of these planted out near his capital and in various parts of his own chiefdom. He tells

groups of headmen to organize the digging of a *cing'anda* garden in their districts. From these gardens, anyone may pull the cassava leaves to use as relish. The cassava itself is for the use of starving people in the area in which the garden is situated. Kazembe may allot portions of the gardens to people he thinks require food: for instance an old aristocrat who had no strength left to hoe his own gardens was allotted a strip of one of these gardens near the capital. In the other chiefdoms, both Lunda and Chishinga, labour for these two tasks is found in the same way from within the chiefdom concerned.

Tribute of goods is of two kinds. *Mufungo* is that which is asked for, and *mulambo* is that which is taken voluntarily. Everyone from time to time has the obligation of contributing *mufungo*. It is seldom practised in the chiefdoms, but in the metropolitan area it is the main form of tribute. The king can ask for tribute of cassava and tribute of fish. Cassava is asked for usually if there is some reason which has called many visitors to the capital whom it is the king's responsibility to feed. Kazembe may assess the amount of levy to be brought from each village or he may leave the matter to headmen. If he considers the tribute of a headman insufficient for the size and age of the village concerned he does not accept it but demands full tribute. Headmen shout instructions round the villages at dawn that each woman is to provide a little whole cassava or cassava meal, whichever is required. The headman himself goes with the women who take tribute to the palace. After the death of Kazembe XIV, when many visitors were present and had to be fed, messengers wrote up the names of headmen who had brought cassava and the numbers of their baskets for all to see. Kazembe does not ask for cassava outside his own metropolitan chiefdom.

Kazembe depends upon tribute for relish to be cooked in the royal kitchen, which is his own personal kitchen for himself and his Lunda guests distinct from the kitchens of his wives. He has some guns and powder which he lends to hunters to hunt game for him from time to time; but fish is the main relish and Kazembe himself has no nets and no fishermen working for him. It is said that in the old days there was ample voluntary tribute of fish. Now fish mainly comes in the form of *mufungo*. Members of the palace staff are sent out nearly every day; they go to the market or to the Luapula where it borders the metropolitan chiefdom and

ask fishermen for two or three fish apiece. I have seen fishermen refuse to give fish and incur nothing but the wrath of the messenger; but refusal does in fact make a man liable for a fine in court, and the fish are usually given, if reluctantly.

Another form of compulsory tribute, which takes place in all the capitals, is tribute of beer. Whenever a resident of a capital (but not of other villages) brews beer, she takes a bucket to the chief's house or king's palace. In this way there is always beer at hand for the king or chief to entertain guests with. All these forms of compulsory tribute continue with the death or absence of king or chief: tribute is to the kingship and the chieftainship and not to the person of the king.

To the observer it seems that far more food enters the palace as *mufungo* than as voluntary *mulambo* tribute. But this may not be so. Governors and Owners of the Land no longer regularly take tribute to Kazembe. The old system has not been replaced by one in which the present-day chiefs bring tribute collected from their subjects to the capital. Lunda complain that the present-day chiefs never bring tribute. Private voluntary tribute is undertaken on a smaller scale now. I could not find out whether or not compulsory tribute was an innovation: if so, it may have been introduced to counter the lack of voluntary tribute which, one assumes, is connected with the facts that people pay 'tribute' in tax; that chiefs who might bring it are not entirely dependent on Kazembe for their continuation in office; and that fish, formerly the basis of the tribute, is now the basis of the money economy of the Luapula. Nevertheless, much tribute is taken by night privately and secretly.

Of the voluntary tribute, that which is taken on the largest scale is tribute which comes from the later immigrant groups who have settled in a body at various places. These are groups which have come to the country in Lunda times, there to seek shelter from enemies, or good country, or a good kingship. These are the groups which are there only through the tolerance of Kazembe. For the Lunda owe these groups no respect: they are not the people whom they found in the country like the Shila and Bwilile, who are still mentioned by the Lunda as being the Owners of the Land. These later immigrant groups do not have the essential role in the land ritual which (as the next chapter will show) the indigenous groups practise. They are still in the process of forging adequate links with the kingship. Tribute is most frequently taken

by Kawandane, a Mambwe who came with the London Missionary Society from the north at the turn of the century and who later became headman of the mission village of Mbereshi. From time to time Drum Clan Chishinga of the sub-chief KAPESA take tribute of beer; and the Bemba from the old village of MWAWA-MUKUPA, although not in the metropolis, also take tribute. Those aristocrats who are village headmen can also manage to find enough food to make up a load of tribute. It is of course impossible to take a reasonable tribute unless one has the command of people to prepare it. Of those who had such command, the aristocrats have for the most part lost it; and Owners of the Land now find difficulty in persuading fishermen on their lands to provide tribute for transmission to the king. Kazembe in 1950 complained to the Bwilele MUKAMBA that though he was an Owner of the Land he was sending no fish. MUKAMBA said that if Kazembe were to provide him with 'a man with a fez' (a *kapaso*) to frighten the people into giving it, then he would be able to send some. Of those who could now command people to take a handsome present of tribute, chiefs do not do so, and village headmen do not do so because they have to give compulsory tribute on occasion. Those who do take it on a large scale are descendants of groups of recent immigrants to whom Kazembe gave a considerable stretch of unoccupied land upon which to settle, and who have remained together in comparatively homogeneous tribal groups and whose connection with the kingship is not yet fully established.

It is hard to gauge the amount of individual tribute which is given, for this is usually taken by night. Aristocrats, headmen or commoners may take tribute in their individual capacities. One clue to the amount is given by the fact that Kazembe does not ask for *mufungo* tribute from members of his own capital. The explanation given is that they are constantly taking tribute to him, although I have never seen them take any apart from beer. But people from outside the capital take individual tribute also; and the same applies to chiefs and subjects of the other capitals. The giving of tribute of this kind is closely bound up with two mystical factors: sorcery and purification. Hunters, who are of course the best able to give presents of meat, are said to be generous with it in the form of tribute. Likewise they are generous to their village headmen. It is said that if they do not give presents,

then headmen and chief will not purify them, or purify them badly, should they happen to kill a lion or leopard. It is fear of sorcery which makes people take tribute by night. If it were known that a man had frequently so much surplus meat or other food that he was in a position to give generously to his chief, this would lay him open to sorcery from the jealousy of others; and it would also lay him open to accusations of sorcery for being such a successful hunter, fisherman, etc. Hence meat is always brought into a village at night, and hence also birds are plucked before reaching the village so that others will not be able to know from the tell-tale feathers that the hunter is fortunate in his shooting.

Money is given as tribute. When a Luapula resident returns home from the Copperbelt or elsewhere it is customary for him to visit his chief and lay money before him. This is not so common in the chiefdoms, but much money flows into the kingship in this way.

Those who benefit from the tribute are the Lunda. The royal wealth consists, apart from the proceeds of tribute, of a herd of cattle and a flock of sheep and goats. The cattle, seldom more than twelve in number, and about fifty sheep and goats, are herded in and around the capital by a man appointed by Kazembe for the purpose. It is only Kazembe and a few other wealthy men who own cattle. The royal animals are descendants of tribute herds derived from long ago. Those, and what remains of tribute and tribute money, are devoted to the requirements of the king and the kingship. This is mainly the entertainment of visitors to the kingship and of visiting aristocrats. The regular tribute is divided among the king's wives and the Lunda in the capital: aristocrats and princes either eat it at the royal kitchen or have it sent out to their homes ready cooked; while other more peripheral Lunda have it sent out to their homes from time to time also. All the other tribes present help to feed the Lunda. This is also what KASHINGE meant when he said that the work of the Lunda was to drink beer. The kingship drinks the beer of its subjects.

Allegiance directed elsewhere

In the establishment of relationships within the state there seem to be two main forces at work. In the first place the power of the Lunda both imposes subjection and attracts adherents. In the second place the subject groups answer the threat of complete

subjection by safeguarding their own individuality in those spheres which are left to them.

In consonance with this, the Lunda have, and know they have, the political power; but at the same time they allow great latitude in custom, and this is reflected in court decisions. Their habit of allowing conquered chiefs a measure of control over their subjects is another instance of this. But they go further and recognize that the component sections of the population have their own particular tasks in reference to the running of the country politically and ritually; and hold to the belief that their own good government is the better for it. Thus the Bwilile and Shila Owners of the Land, and the later immigrants, have their own respective rituals which supplement the rituals of the kingship directed towards the well-being of the country. Likewise, in political affairs, NKUBA of the Shila is still the arbiter of traditional land ownership; and while a judgment on such a matter comes from the mouth of Kazembe, he is first advised by NKUBA.¹ Since the Lunda leave these matters to the various other groups, these groups are thereby continuing to act as discrete tribal units; the customs which they severally practise re-emphasize their tribal distinctiveness. The fact of annual ceremonies to 'unlock the fish' in many of the lagoons shows that there are Bwilile about. Tribe and custom are indivisible.

The custom indivisible from Lundahood is government. We saw already in Chap. II that even although it is not only Shila who fish yet fishing is the special work of the Shila tribe; and it will appear in the next chapter that the special work of the Bwilile is the ritual of the land, although here again many Shila are involved in it. The subject tribes for their part recognize that the Lunda are their political masters. There is a king, so he is a Lunda. But in the very act of recognizing the Lunda as their rulers, the subject groups emphasize their own individuality and go out of their way to stress it.

As an example of this I cite the matter of the royal drums. Most of the drums made for the king or the Lunda are fashioned by individuals of subject groups who are well known as craftsmen at this work, and who hand the craft on to their descendants (for the royal drums differ from other drums which many people know how to carve). The talking drums at present are mostly

¹ See the case of KABUNDEBUNDE in the next chapter.

made by a Bemba, the big slit-drums by a Chishinga and a Shila. The Bemba who makes the talking drums periodically visits the courts of the chiefs for whom he makes them and complains that he is badly paid for the work 'because he is only a Bemba'. But he continues to make them. When Kazembe XIV was installed, he asked CHITIMUNA, a Shila headman of the Congo swamps, to make him a slit-drum. The drum arrived about eight years later. The excuse for the delay was that CHITIMUNA had been ill; but it was discovered that he had also been boasting about his ancestry. He had claimed that although now a Shila he was Luba by origin and not Lunda: why then should he make drums for Kazembe? He finally brought a drum to the capital. The king did not upbraid him: he stated simply that he was glad to see the drum because CHITIMUNA was a Shila, and the Lunda would always give respect to the Shila because they were Owners of the Land. CHITIMUNA answered that he was indeed a subject of Kazembe from old times until now, and that more drums would be forthcoming. In both of these cases, the specialists continue to make drums for the king, but they stress that they are not Lunda; both mention the tribes to which they belong.

It was shown also in Chap. II how NKUBA took tribute to Chitimukulu, king of the Bemba; and how later immigrants did not forget the chiefs from whose countries they had migrated to the Luapula, and I stressed generally the degree of tribal allegiance outside the valley. There are two instances of political movements arising from similar allegiances: one of them is important, the other slight.

The former involves the Chishinga chiefs of the Rat Clan and thus, since it is confined to the Rat Clan, may perhaps be regarded as primarily of clan significance. The three Rat Clan Chishinga chiefs of the Luapula Valley are concerned along with certain Rat Clan chiefs of Chishinga country to have their own Native Authority and to split from the Lunda. They do not have the sympathy of the British Administration in this endeavour, which would break up the convenient administrative unit of the Luapula Valley. Lunda relations with Chishinga have always been touchy and traditions suggest that the Chishinga more than other tribes have caused trouble in the Lunda. When Lunda officials went to the Boma which is in Chishinga country, on one occasion I heard the Chishinga bantering about the *filunda* (the stupid or pompous

Lunda) coming up the hill in their own bus. The lesser movement is that of a few Shila who, individually, consider they should have greater control in running the country because the Lunda found them there. This movement is confined to a few Shila living in Kazembe's country and does not extend to those outside. Hostility is directed against Kazembe from outside his present country, both by the Chishinga and by the Shila of Mununga. These are in fact the only two groups in Northern Rhodesia close enough to Kazembe for his influence to be felt. Kazembe is fortunate in having the wealthiest part of Kawambwa District and this attracts inhabitants from neighbouring chiefdoms. Mununga and the Chishinga chiefs Mushyota and Munkanta complain that Kazembe has stolen many men from them, men who in fact have gone to live on the Luapula of their own accord. The cause of this is considered to be sorcery of the kind which attracts people from one village to another. So those chiefs blame not themselves or the comparative poverty of their own lands, but the sorcery of Kazembe, for the paucity of their own populations. Mununga has gone as far as to deny the Lunda bus access to his country, claiming that it empties his lands and fills Kazembe's.

Associations of other kinds

Associations apart from the kinds already mentioned are mainly religious.¹ The secret societies about which it is almost impossible to get information today—the *Butwa*² and the women's *Bulindu*—have died out.

Missions first came to the Luapula in 1899. Roughly the northern half of the country is covered by the London Missionary Society based on Mbereshi, and the southern half by Brethren in Christ based on Kawama and Johnston Falls. In the thirties the White Fathers established two stations, one (Lufubu) in the old L.M.S. area, and one between Kawama and Johnston Falls at Nsakaluba. The followings of the original missions remain stronger than the followings of the Catholics. But the most numerous of all are the Jehovah's Witnesses. This movement is

¹ I understand that the Northern Rhodesia African Congress has made significant advances in the area but I left before its effects could be observed. The Lunda National Association was the only modern political or semi-political group there during my stay (see above, p. 52).

² See Campbell, 'A Few Notes on Butwa'.

run locally by Africans, the nearest European representative being in Lusaka, the capital of the Territory. There is an insignificant following of the African Methodist Church and of the Seventh Day Adventists. Open hostility between the Catholics and Jehovah's Witnesses gave rise in 1950 to a brawl on Chibondo Island on the west bank which was settled only by the arrival of armed police from Kasenga.

Since most followers of the Brethren in Christ are to be found towards the south, I did not know them well. In the neighbourhood of the capital, the London Missionary Society dominates, and its mission station six miles away is the one which has the strongest bonds with the Lunda. This society has a church in the capital. It also has the highest grade school in Lunda country, and so it happens that the best-educated local people, of the kind who are given posts with the Native Authority, are educated here. Kazembe XIV and XV both regularly attended services at the church in the capital. Those of the aristocrats who go to church at all attend this church; but I am of the opinion that they went rather in attendance on Kazembe than for any other reason. London Mission Christianity has claims to being the state religion.

The African Watch Tower movement reached the Luapula in the late 1920s. This movement has often been confused with Jehovah's Witnesses, whose magazine is called *The Watchtower*. The African movement was originally inspired by the doctrines of Jehovah's Witnesses, but local leaders put their own interpretations on the magazine's symbolic writing, and it was not until 1935 that a European representative of the Witnesses was established in Northern Rhodesia and a controlled organization built up. Since then, Jehovah's Witnesses have increased and Watch Tower adherents diminished. Quick, writing of the Luapula in 1940, noted only the indigenous movement; by 1950 that movement had disappeared from the Luapula and the Witnesses had a strong following.¹

Jehovah's Witnesses belong to a highly organized movement

¹ Quick, 'Some Aspects of the African Watch Tower Movement in Northern Rhodesia'. For the history of the two movements and the relationship between them, see Shepperson, 'The Politics of African Church Separatist Movements in British Central Africa', and my 'Jehovah's Witnesses ... in Central Africa'.

with decentralized control. Doctrine comes from the headquarters in Brooklyn, through a sole European representative in Northern Rhodesia. From him, control is delegated to Africans in their home areas who themselves organize their country into various orders of districts for preaching. The movement spread quickly, gaining many converts from religions already established, until now perhaps half of those professing Christianity on the Luapula are Jehovah's Witnesses. Seven thousand of them gathered from the valley and surrounding districts to a convention which took place at Kazembe's capital in 1950.¹

They hold (on the Luapula) that it is only Jehovah's Witnesses that will be saved. To be saved implies that after the forthcoming Armageddon they alone will be eligible for entry to the paradise which will exist on earth, which will be an idealized version of present human existence: the body is there as well as the spirit. One can become a Witness only by believing in the doctrine and giving oneself the time in which to 'publish'—to spread the knowledge of this doctrine to others. The proper way to give oneself the time is to eschew political activity in any form. There is no point in organizing a human state when any day Jesus Christ will present believers with a state ready organized and which will work better than any human contrivance could work. They also claim that it is a waste of time to adhere to old customs. Ethically they are somewhat puritanical, but since the best positions in the coming society have been promised to good men who are already dead, belief is now enough to give them what they seek, a place in the earthly paradise.

It might thus seem that Jehovah's Witnesses, with their denial of politics, thereby formed a political movement. Certainly there are no important Authority posts filled by Witnesses, and Lunda see to it that important Lunda positions are not filled by them because they would neglect Lunda customs. But at the same time Witnesses do not seek these posts or positions. This would be taking part in politics or else it would be honouring old customs and, if they were to succeed to a name, marrying bigamously. Cases arise of disrespect to chiefs by Watchtower members; but

¹ See my article 'A Watchtower Assembly in Central Africa'. The estimate of 'a half' is derived from a census of five villages, of the metropolitan chiefdom, and is to be regarded as a very rough figure.

no more than by members of other religious sects. It is simply that, when a Witness has a case of this sort, the court takes pains to relate the fact to his membership of the movement. At the burial of Kazembe XIV, Witnesses took a conspicuous part in preparing the grave and lowering the body into it.

The members are very closely knit together. In matters of hospitality common membership of the movement is more fruitful now than bonds of clanship. Meetings take place every three or four days during the week, and 'publishing' is carried on from door to door on other days, whenever a member has spare time. Everyone takes an active part in it. Everyone has forms to fill in about the number of converts he has made and books he has sold. Everyone receives *The Watchtower*, the weekly magazine, through the mail. Everyone is made to feel important. Members' lives are dominated by the movement's activities.

They are of course not cut off from their fellows in everyday affairs, but their religious activities take so long and are so marked that members—or the more active of them—form a distinct association. Going to meetings they form up with their bicycles at one place and cycle in single file to church. From time to time they congregate at assemblies at various parts of the valley. They are seen as a group by other residents. They are cut out from some activities because they do not drink beer, at least publicly. The attitude towards them is comparable with what I could gather was the attitude to the *Butwa* Society last century. They are said to be proud and aloof, but generous among themselves; and they are accused of sexual irregularities, notably brother-sister incest and wife-lending. The Native Authority proclamation of wife-lending as a punishable offence is said to have been directed against the Witnesses. This is almost the same as what people today claim that non-members of the *Butwa* Society said about that society, and the accusations of sexual irregularities tally exactly. None of the other religious societies is accused in this way. The *Butwa* had many elements in common with Jehovah's Witnesses. Both spread right over the country, and both had their own internal organization which set up a system of rank and authority which, as far as their internal affairs were concerned, denied the authority of the state over them.

Lunda fear the authority of missions which have European missionaries present. Lunda tend to associate all Europeans except

traders with the British Administration. Traders are exempt from this because they do not try to impose any authority. They have no axe to grind about Lunda custom. Missionaries have rules of behaviour which they try to impose upon Luapula residents, who, however, fear that missionaries will inform the British Administration about matters which displease them, and that punishment will follow. On the other hand Luapula residents recognize the advantages which the missions have given them: they speak in praise of the hospitals, which are open to all regardless of religious affiliation. They laud the mission schools, and they recognize that it was missionaries who brought the art of building houses of sun-dried brick.

The missions try to regulate certain aspects of the lives of their members. Missionaries themselves hold informal courts in which cases of church members may be discussed: but this is purely an internal arrangement and no one is bound by the decisions of the court. They often bring cases to the notice of chiefs' courts. Some missions also require their members to pay a small sum periodically. This is regarded by Africans as compulsory tribute and it is said by many Jehovah's Witnesses to have been the reason for their conversion. But the only sanction which missionaries have for enforcing their will is to eject a church member from the church: and church members are not bound to refer their cases primarily to the missionaries.

The missions have their 'courts' and their 'tribute', and the authority of the missionaries is believed to be linked with governmental authority; but missions are not an important political element in the country. Rather they are a training ground for politics, for it is only through the missions that education to a high standard can be received by those who will become Native Authority officials later on.

The Lunda Position

The Lunda have been seen from two angles: as one of the Luapula tribes, and as the holders of the kingship and through it the government. As Lunda they are a divisive force, jealous of the name of Lunda; but as governors their work is the unification of the peoples through a structure of administration at whose head they stand.

The Lunda are distinguished from the other tribes by many

features, arising in the main from their governmental role, but also to some extent from their different, western origin. Unlike the other tribes, they have a king, a royal house and an aristocracy in the Luapula Valley. They have their own clans, and they succeed to office for the most part patrilineally. The Lunda tribe in the valley is thus highly structured and differs in this respect from all the other tribes there. It has a complex system of relationships between the king, royal family and aristocrats. These are brought into special relations with people of the other tribes; in kinship terms this is effected by the lasting importance of the *bacanuma* of any king; and by the clash of the Lunda patrilineal descent with the matrilineal descent of the other tribes, which means for instance that a 'stranger' can have a full brother who has succeeded to a Lunda position. The next chapter will show in addition the role of perpetual kinship in the maintenance of bonds between Lunda and the Owners of the Land.

But there are not only kinship relations between Lunda and others. As rulers, the Lunda are in contact with all levels of life and the control here is increasing as the Native Authorities extend their activities. But in spite of this the tribes do not vie to be accepted as Lunda. In their recognition of Lunda supremacy they continue to say 'we are strangers'. Some go as far as to refuse insignia of Lundahood offered to them. They do not accept the designation 'Lunda' to cover them all as subjects of the king.

Here, the kingship is given as an attribute of the Lunda. Strangers have little chance of access to the ranks of the royal family and aristocracy. They get status not by achieving Lundahood but rather through the king's recognition of inherited names or offices and praise-names, and the particular historical, ceremonial or ritual attributes attached to them; and value is set on these relationships by the subjects and Lunda alike. It will be shown how groups most recently settled in the valley stress the slightest connection with the kingship. Herein lies the importance of the continuous nature of the Lunda history; for the ceremonial and ritual attributes have their justification in it. And this I think is also an important pointer to the emphasis upon diversity of origin. Status derives from the behaviour of one's forbears as well as from one's own behaviour to the king. The attributes of an ancestor which brought him to enjoy the king's favour are carried forward through positional succession. Positional succession

secures the same favour to the heirs, while at the same time, since it is succession to a total social position, the heirs remain still with the same social attributes as the ancestor who set the relationship in being.

CHAPTER VIII

LAND OWNERSHIP AND RITUAL

ON the Luapula today the political divisions of the land are the chiefdoms. Within them, the chief controls the allocation of land to villages as well as having political power over the inhabitants of his chiefdom; and the chiefdom is the limit of the area within which a resident is allowed to cultivate without asking special permission. Although this is the case, chiefdom boundaries are not of significance for the carrying out of other activities, such as fishing, hunting, cutting wood, etc. Within the chiefdom little conflict arises over land matters. Neither villages, nor lineages or other kinship groups, have special rights in stretches of cultivable land. A man does not need to adhere to a kinship group before he can find land to cultivate: he needs only to be registered with a chief.

This formal division of land into chiefdoms may be aligned with the formal political hierarchy of king and chiefs on the one hand, or Senior Native Authority and Native Authorities on the other. But just as, in the organization of persons, politically significant groups emerge outside of the true political hierarchy from king to commoners, so the land is also organized in a way which is outside of its arrangement into formal chiefdoms. This organization is in the field of traditional ownership and of ritual. Formerly, land ownership was of more significance than it is today both for the polity and the economy of the smaller social groups; but today the aspect of land ownership which retains its significance is mainly ritual. Together land ownership, ritual and histories provide a rationale for the way in which so many tribal and clan groups cohabit peaceably. These three aspects are closely linked: it is through the histories that land relationships and ritual responsibilities are defined. Through them, too, present-day relationships partake of, and are justified by, past relationships. Past and present exist side by side. In regard to rights over land, while Kazembe may be said to own the whole country of the east bank, the Owners of the Land retain certain rights over their own small areas. In land ritual, the Owners play their original important roles, but the ritual is co-ordinated and strengthened by the

kingship. In history, each land-owning lineage has its tradition justifying its settlement on a piece of land, but at the same time members of the lineage can see Luapula history in another way, in terms not of their own small group, but of the whole valley. I want here to relate the sort of land ritual practised by the various kinds of group to other characteristic features mentioned in previous chapters.

*Land Ownership*¹

History says that the Bwilile, when they came severally to the Luapula, settled for the most part in land which had been previously unoccupied. They settled in little groups apart from each other, on islands in the swamp, or in tributary valleys on the hard land. The leaders of these groups were and still are for the most part the *bene ba mpanga*, Owners of the Land. 'Ownership' meant simply that they lived there, and it seems that their rights in land were seldom challenged. They remain Owners of the Land by right of first occupancy. Within their respective pieces of land they and their followers lived, fished, hunted and, if they were on hard land, cultivated. There were no subject peoples, and there was no tribute. Prayer to the ancestors of the leader of each group was at the same time prayer for the fertility of his piece of land. Each such piece of land was a *katongo* (pl. *tutongo*). This is a word now seldom used except in the phrase *katongo ka mulanda, calo ca mfumu*. This phrase contrasts the kind of land held by a chief with the kind of land held by someone who is not a chief: the *katongo*, a small stretch of country, belongs to the *mulanda*, the poor man, or subject; but the *calo*, the whole country, belongs to the chief. The *calo* contains many *tutongo*.²

The northern half of the valley became the *calo* of the Shila under NKUBA after his arrival, while the southern part remained composed solely of *tutongo*. The *calo* of NKUBA was still made up of the *tutongo* of the Bwilile. Some *tutongo* were placed under Shila representatives, and for a transfer of this kind there is usually some justifying history. This meant that ritual control of the land was

¹ Map IV refers (p. 36).

² The word *mpanga* is the general word for bush, unoccupied land. In this way *mwine wa mpanga*, Owner of the Land, is contrasted with *mwine wa calo*, chief. *Calo* implies land in its political aspect, with people on it.

handed over to the Shila representative. Bwile ancestral spirits had power over the land. Shila intermarried with Bwile and in this way Shila could look back to Bwile ancestors as their own, and could thus pray to them for the fertility of the land. In other places Shila settled where no Bwile had been before—as on Mofwe Lagoon—and this made them the Owners of the Land there through first occupancy. NKUBA himself got Chisenga swamp island as his *katongo* through marriage with the sister of the Bwile TWITE.

When the Lunda came and settled, NKUBA, who had also been political chief of the northern half of the Luapula Valley (*calo*) became known to the Lunda as the Owner of the Land—the most important indigenous ‘chief’, but not political ruler. Political authority was forcibly taken by Kazembe, and NKUBA got the honorific title of Kazembe’s *Mwadi*, his chief wife, significant in that the chief wife is more important ritually than politically. And the *katongo* of NKUBA came to be known as Kazembe’s Storehouse, significant also since the Owner’s ritual is directed to keeping larders full of fish and meat. Kazembe continued to respect the rights of the Owners whom he found on arrival, in that their names continued to be associated with their lands, and that they continued to have the ritual responsibility for their lands. At the same time Kazembe reserved for himself the power of settling people wherever he liked on these lands or elsewhere. This then was the end of the close political association of a piece of land with a certain lineage. Kazembe exercised his power in this respect mainly in the establishment of governorships. In the lands of most Owners he placed Lunda aristocrats not only as a protecting barrier round the kingship but also to control to some extent the natives, and to get tribute from them. The Owners were none the less still honoured as such by Kazembe, and they were given, and still are given if they so desire, insignia of Lundahood.

There were many possible unused settlement sites. The district is well watered and there were uninhabited tributary valleys. The lands of Owners in the bush were at the best vaguely defined. In the swamp it was a different matter, because there the most significant parts were the well-defined lagoons. Thus Kazembe had plenty of vacant land to give to prominent men. In this way unoccupied land found occupants who then became ritually responsible for the land, in spite of the fact that they got it at a fairly

recent date. These people however are not known as Owners and do not have the same respect from the Lunda as Bwilile and Shila. Generally the political control of the land passed from the Owners to the Lunda governors. Later when the aristocratic governors on the east bank lost their positions, the political control went to chiefs created in the royal family. Of the seven chiefdoms, the chiefs of three are members of the royal family, the chief of one is an aristocrat, and the remaining three chiefs are Rat Clan Chishinga, roughly in their traditional areas.

It appears that the indigenous form of land ownership is better preserved on the west bank, where some of the Owners have become recognized by the Belgian Administration as the modern political chiefs. The Congo bank chiefs who are also Owners are NKUBA (although his territory has changed), TWITE (politically a sub-chief under NKUBA), NKAMBO, KAMPOMBWE, CHIKUNGU and CHISAMAMBA. Other Owners within the territories of these political chiefs also exercise their traditional prerogatives more fully. It is not that Owners of the Land no longer exist for the east bank: rather their activities are not so noticeable.

In the literature of early travellers we find two references to land ownership. The first is in Livingstone. Writing of the capital (on Mofwe Lagoon) he says: 'An old man named Perembe is the owner of the land on which Cazembe has built. They always keep up the traditional ownership. . . . If anyone wished to cultivate land he would apply to these aboriginal chiefs for it.'¹ I heard no reference by Lunda to this obligation to apply to the Owners of the Land before cultivating; but the quotation is interesting, for Perembe can be equated with the Mpelembe who appears in the genealogy today of the Shila, KATELE, upon whose land Kazembe first settled.

The other reference is in Campbell: 'In the Lunda country I have seen war declared on a district because a man infringed the law of forest rights, and dug honey out of a tree growing in the country of another chief.'² Perhaps one may assume 'chief' to mean Owner of the Land. This agrees with statements from Owners in the Congo who still exercise their rights, that they should be

¹ Livingstone, *Last Journals*, 1st December 1867.

² Campbell, *In the Heart of Bantuland*, p. 58. This perhaps refers to the year 1899.

asked by strangers for permission to fish, hunt, or seek honey in their lands. Other activities, such as the cutting of hardwood trees for canoe-building, and the cutting of bamboo or papyrus for various tasks, were open to all comers.

Apart from ritual, the Owners of the Land on the east bank have little work to do. If a new Lunda chief is appointed, it lies upon the local Owner to find him seeds to start his cultivation. The Owner is still supposed to take tribute, but in fact for the reasons given earlier he seldom does so. The privilege of collecting tribute remains, but it is not exercised. It is still a latent right. About 1945 there was an argument concerning the rights of collecting tribute from fishermen over an area towards the mouth of the Luapula on the Rhodesian side which is now in the chiefdom of Kambwali. KABUNDEBUNDE, the traditional Owner, who is now a section headman in chief Kambwali's capital, and Muyembe, the Lunda sub-chief of Chisenga Island within the metropolitan chiefdom of Kazembe, were arguing the matter. The former was collecting tribute to give to Kambwali to be sent on to Kazembe, and Muyembe challenged the right. Kazembe himself did not judge the affair since it concerned Land Ownership. He referred it to NKUBA who judged that the land in question was in fact a part of the *katongo* of KABUNDEBUNDE and thus it was his right to collect tribute from it. It is interesting that on Chisenga Island itself the right now belongs to Muyembe although the island has been under his line of sub-chiefs for only about twenty years. The traditional Owner was NKUBA who fled in 1908 leaving the land empty. When it was filled, it was by KASHULWE, a 'brother' of NKUBA; but a Lunda governor was put in at the same time who had the work of organizing the tribute.

In the Congo many of the present chiefs are Owners, while Owners in the territories of other political chiefs still have their interests guarded. One of the chiefs who is at the same time an Owner told me that he still requires that strangers wanting to hunt, fish or collect honey on his territory should get his permission. The Bwilile TWITE, now a sub-chief under NKUBA, collects tribute from his chiefdom. KAINDU, a Lunda sub-chief under the Yeke KASHOBWE, collects tribute, by agreement with the Belgians, from fishermen in his sub-chiefdom although he never was Owner. At the same time MAKANDWE, the Bwilile Owner of the Land over which KAINDU has been made sub-chief, is still

responsible for the fishing ritual, and the determination of the fishing seasons in this district. His role of Owner of the Land took a new form in the drought of 1949. In the dry season the channels to the extensive lagoons a mile back from the Luapula dried up. These lagoons were in excellent fishing condition since they too were drying up and the fish were easily caught. On his own initiative he organized the digging of a deep navigable channel from the Luapula to these waters to save dragging canoes over land. He got labour for this work by going round the fishing camps on his land and telling the visiting fishermen they would have to help. There was immediate obedience, and no reward other than the advantage to the fishermen themselves.

The importance of NKUBA, even although he now no longer lives in Kazembe's country, is clearly seen from the case of KABUNDEBUNDE above. The Shila and Bwilile Owners are still under him in land matters, and Kazembe may at any time ask him to give his judgment on any matter concerning Owners or Ownership. He is the authority on land and land ritual, and as such is vital to Lunda good government.

Today the land belongs to Kazembe, and the incidents of his rights in the land are as follows: he controls the settlement of people on the land; he can extract tribute from people who live on the land; strangers who want to undertake fishing and hunting activities must first obtain licence from his Native Authority. He now controls the whole land instead of the areas immediately surrounding the Lunda centres, as in the old days. This fact, allied with the fact that tribute to Owners of the Land has changed to tribute in the form of taxes and licence fees paid to the Native Authority, has produced a new feature: namely that arguments over hunting, fishing and honey rights do not arise between *tutongo*, but between the country of Kazembe and the countries of chiefs outside the Lunda Native Authority. In the first chapter I pointed out that formerly fishing and hunting activities usually took place within the neighbourhood of a man's village: it was not necessary for him to go far afield, and when he did so he was liable to demands for tribute from other Owners of the Land. Even now on the Congo bank where there is no senior chief, tribute to the Owners of the Land is sometimes exacted. MAKANDWE says that in his youth there were annual buffalo drives in the swamps. The buffalo, if they were killed after crossing the

boundary into the land of a neighbouring Owner, would have to be shared equally among the two Owners. But now any resident can fish or hunt anywhere in Kazembe's country. Tribute might or might not be exacted; the fisherman or hunter might or might not take tribute to the chief in whose country he is operating—in both cases probably not. The only imperative is that he should have the necessary licences from the Lunda Native Authority. This goes also for people who are not residents of the Luapula: if they pay licence fees to the Lunda Native Authority they are free to hunt or fish in Lunda country.

It is on this level that argument over land rights arises today. Generally the boundaries are clear. The Luapula on the west, the Mwatishi stream on the north, and the Kasengu stream in the south are distinctive. The escarpment on the east is not always so clear. At one point, east of Kazembe, the escarpment splits in two and between the two portions lies a fertile plain where game abounds. Here Chishinga come hunting from the east. Kazembe would like to keep them out and prevent them from building hunting camps but the place is somewhat inaccessible from the west. Again, it is quite common for hunters to cross from the Congo and hunt lechwe in Kazembe's swamps. It is impossible to patrol the whole district but these hunters are frequently caught. One or two *kapasos* (who go of course unarmed) have been attacked by Congo hunters whom they have found in the land.

Land Ritual

When KASHULWE was sent to re-establish villages on Chisenga Island after NKUBA had gone to the Congo, he was bidden to go and 'put the pot on the fire' there (*kuteke nongo mu calo*). The word *kuteka*, to place on the fire, means also to rule,¹ and the word *buteko* (see above, p. 157) is from the same stem. To say that a man has put the pot on the fire, means commonly that he has become a headman or a chief. *Kuteko mushi*, moreover, which means primarily to rule a village, has implicitly ritual overtones; for to be a good headman, a man has to be ritually efficient as well as to be a good arbitrator. If people are to remain in his village they require it to be prosperous and healthy, and this state is brought

¹ Although here again there may be a tonal difference. See p. 74, n. 2.

about more by the headman's medicines than by other factors. But for the most part the headman's medicines refer to the well-being of his own village and only in a few cases does it have wider effects. As it is with villages, so it is with larger pieces of land. Each *katongo* and each *calo* has its ritual. *Kuteke calo* means to govern a piece of land both politically and ritually. Originally on the Luapula, since there were only *tutongo*, there was no *calo* ritual. Nowadays *katongo* and *calo* ritual exists side by side. The ritual, or what is left of it, of Owners of the Land is co-ordinated by Kazembe, the owner of the whole country. This ritual can be divided into two broad categories, prayer and purification. I deal with prayer first. Throughout I wish to stress the different roles in the ritual which are played by Bwilile and Shila, by Lunda and by later immigrants.

The Owners of the Land were responsible for the fertility of fish and game in their lands severally. Everywhere there were annual ceremonies of prayer to the ancestors of these people, taking place usually at the opening of the best seasons for the various activities. For game, this was about March in the swamps, for in this month the plain is inundated, and driven animals soon tire of running or swimming through the water while hunters follow by canoe. But the most important ceremony of this type that is recalled, and the only one still practised, is 'unlocking the fish' (*ukufungule sabi*).

Owners of swamp have many lagoons in their lands: the swamp is dotted with far more lagoons than it appears from the map. In the old days lagoon fishing was the safest form of fishing and yielded the best eating fish, though it does not yield the quantity demanded by the fish trade nowadays. There is still much lagoon fishing; older men almost invariably go to lagoons and not to the river or the lake. Other Owners of the Land had fishing waters on Lake Mweru. The Luapula never 'belonged' to anybody: people say it 'belongs only to God'. In all the waters except the Luapula and the open waters of Lake Mweru close seasons were imposed for a certain type of fishing (*kutumpula*—drumming the water). While all Owners of the Land prayed to their ancestors for the prosperity of the fish, those whose waters were on lagoons, or other places with close seasons, associated the annual prayer with the beginning of the *kutumpula* season. Baskets could be used all year round, but drumming the water was said to disturb the fish

and spoil the good season when lagoon waters were low. The ceremony usually took place in August, but the month varied from place to place. NKAMBO unlocked the Lutipuka plain, which is waterless in the dry season, when the first waters came in from the Luapula in February, bringing with them a great run of spawning 'Luapula Salmon'. Unfortunately I have not seen the ceremony. I had planned to see MULUMBWA unlock Pembe Lagoon near Kazembe, but he fell ill and the ceremony was postponed. The ceremony varied from place to place, but it consisted commonly of a great fish battue; certain types of fish, still alive, were tied round women's backs, and they danced with them up to the ancestral graves.

Nowadays these *tutongo* form part of a *calo*; and Kazembe (or his chiefs) asks to be informed of the time when the unlocking will take place so that he will be sure that the Owner sends him tribute from the ceremony, and so that he can send his own representative, usually an assessor of *kapaso*, to see what is happening. When MULUMBWA failed in 1950 to send tribute, he escaped a fine only because he had been ill. I think that the Shila of the lower end of the swamp, when they formerly unlocked the fish, would take their catch to their chief NKUBA who would then send on tribute of it to Kazembe. They do not do so now.

Even although the actual ceremony of asking ancestors for fertility of fish is now not everywhere staged, fishermen still must regard the wishes of the Owner of the Land in the matter of fishing seasons. In waters which are greatly used for commercial fishing the Owners (like MAKANDWE for Kampemba and Mitutu Lagoons on the Congo side) have stopped the close seasons because they found that fishermen would no longer listen to them: but on waters like Pembe and Mofwe Lagoons where most of the fish is for home consumption these regulations still stand.

This ancestral ritual of the Owners of the Land is generally spoken of as having been the most important ritual of the old days. When the Lunda came, prayer to dead Kazembes was also made, not regularly but in case of drought or special hardship. In addition, I was told, on such occasions Kazembe would call the Owners of the Land to his capital, hold a *mutentamo* gathering, and tell them that since the country was in a bad way it was fitting that they should all go to their homes and pray to their ancestors on a certain day. Kazembe would also order other sorts of ritual to be

carried out generally, for the good of the country. He would, for example, tell all village headmen to have their villages swept out and light new fires (as in the ritual of headman succession). This was really a form of purification and its exact purpose was never made clear to me.

Although Kazembe sent aristocrats as governors to most parts of the country I do not think they were in any way responsible for fertility. They left this to the Owners. The aristocrat KONI prayed to his ancestors for the sake of the land he lived on, but here there was no Owner. In the chiefdom of Kambwali it is said that twenty years ago Lunda prayed at the grave of an old Kambwali, but beforehand KABUNDEBUNDE, the Owner of much of Kambwali chiefdom, blessed these Lunda with white powder; but this is the only such prayer of which I heard.

Formerly there were sowing and first-fruit ceremonies. Both have died out, except in some Bemba villages in Kanyembo chiefdom. I could learn little about the indigenous ceremonies. The sowing ceremonies may have been organized originally by *tutongo*, but latterly they were done by villages. The Bemba ceremonies today take place near the graves of MWAWAMUKUPA, the Bemba headman of that part of the country at the beginning of this century, and his successors. Of the first-fruit ceremonies, I could discover only that in the capital this was a matter of remarkable importance. There was a great gathering for it. Beer was made of the first *masaka* (sorghum) of the season. This makes a very hot and potent beer, and it is not commonly brewed. Lunda characterize this beer as *ubukali*—anger. The first person to taste it was Kazembe himself, and then followed *bambanshi*—men who had killed others in war, or had killed lions.

Other land ritual of wide scope concerned three important beings sometimes called *bakasesema* (prophets) and sometimes called *ngulu* (nature-spirits): these terms are more fully discussed later. These three still exist: they are Nsonga, Mwepya and Makumba.¹ Of these the first is the most important. It is a spirit which has a hereditary priest of the same name, who is a village headman.² The spirit abides in a cave in the Kundelungu hills, the

¹ For Makumba, see p. 154.

² Headman Nsonga was one of the chiefs who sought refuge with Kazembe at the end of the last century. See Tilsley, *Dan Crawford of Central Africa*, p. 274.

western fringe of the valley. Mwepya is the same, both spirit and person. The spirit is said to inhabit a cave on the north side of Kilwa Island. Mwepya the person and priest is a hereditary head-woman and Owner of the Land in the chiefdom of the Shila, Mununga of the Kalungwisi. Makumba is the 'tribal God' of the Aushi. These spirits were able both to send misfortunes and to forecast coming misfortunes. Today it is Nsonga that sends locusts, and Makumba that sends earth tremors and the vapour trails of high-flying aircraft. Kazembe regularly sent missions on the three days' march to Nsonga, bearing gifts, to enquire if misfortunes were on the way, and if so what to do to avert them. Nsonga would impose some taboos: a taboo, for instance, on drying cassava on house-roofs was directed against thunderbolts. Contact was kept up with Makumba, but not so regularly as with Nsonga. It is related that when Kazembe XII was on his way to see the Prince of Wales in 1925 he stopped at Makumba to receive blessing for the visit.

Latterly an object, also described as *ngulu*, was found near Kazembe. The story is told how about 1900 women found in the River Ng'ona which passes by the capital a peculiar stone which 'would not sink'. Later they found two others similar. They showed the first to Kazembe X, who dreamed that it was the spirit of Nakabutula, the Shila chieftainess—the first Shila that the Lunda had met in company with her brother KATELE. The lesser stones became her husband and her son. The stones were taken to the palace where a small hut was built for them beside the house of the *Mwadi*. This is a Lunda hut of typical design with walls of payprus matting. The stones remain hidden, tended by the *Mwadi*, except on an outbreak of influenza. They are then brought out and citizens offer beads and meal to get rid of the epidemic. This is their only function and I could get no statement on the geographical extent of their effectiveness. It is in this hut called Nakabutula that the ritual bow of chieftainship is now kept.¹

Winds on the Luapula are named mainly after chiefs or tribes from whose directions they come. Chisamamba² is the S.S.W.

¹ Dr. J. D. Clark tells me they are 'bored stones'. The largest is about 6 inches across, with a bored hole about 2½ inches in diameter. They are kept on a trestle, wrapped in cloth, covered in meal and beads, and resting on a number of semi-circular bushpig tusks.

² Chisamamba, Owner of the Land south of Kasenga.

breeze, and Kena Chishinga¹ is the easterly breeze. In the northern half of the valley, the S.S.E. gale which brings tremendous rain-storms at the beginning of the rains is Chinawezi, named after Nawezi, the brother of Kazembe II whom the Lunda killed. His grave is on the Kapweshi stream, and is important. It has a hereditary gravekeeper. If the wind blows relentlessly, the talking drums are beaten and a deputation goes to pray at the grave, in the same way as at the royal graves. The Owner of the Land is KAPALE who has long lived in the capital. When he had left the place vacant KASEBULA of the Leopard Clan formed a village there, but he too left and the place once more is vacant. Now the Leopard Clan lead the deputation.

Last in the list of ritual elements of the land involving prayer come the *ngulu* nature-spirits, and the types of spirit-possession connected with them—*mfumu sha mipashi* (lit. 'chiefs of the spirits') and the *bakasesema* (prophets). Other types of spirit-possession are undergone by some magicians, and by *cilumbu* dancers, but these do not concern land ritual and I mention them only in passing. We have seen that Owners of the Land are ritually important for the *tutongo* in prayer through their ancestors: the Lunda are ritually important for the whole *calo* in prayer through the kingship. The matter of *ngulu* and the possessed persons connected with them is not so formally organized. But the *ngulu* system still exists and it is through this system that the later immigrants, who are not Owners of the Land and have no specific connections with royalty, play their part in the land ritual.

Ngulu are natural objects considered to be the abodes of nature-spirits.² Although a *ngulu* may be a waterfall, not all waterfalls are *ngulu*. Hollow trees, stones, ponds and other things may be regarded as *ngulu*. The *ngulu* and the spirits have names which are men's names: like Musonda, Mukupe, etc. Most of the spirits are resident in the objects which are called by their names but some leave them and wander about. In the Luapula Valley are found abodes of a number of spirits but there are far more on the plateau in the east. People stress however that *ngulu* are few in the Luapula Valley, and that possession by spirits is not a custom which is

¹ Diminutive of Mwina Chishinga, a Chishinga tribesman.

² *Ngulu* means both nature-spirit and its abode. I shall use 'spirit', and reserve *ngulu* to mean 'abode'.

known to Bwilile, Shila or Lunda, the tribes considered 'natives' by the later immigrants. It is the eastern tribes of the plateau that become possessed by these spirits. Although the spirits are given men's names, it is not held that they are in fact the spirits of deceased persons. They are spirits which have their own being. Informants say that God (Lesa) made the *ngulu* spirits at the same time as he made men, and he made them so that men could live better on earth. Others described the spirits as the 'real' Owners of the Land, in that they were on the land before the Bwilile.

These spirits are stationary or mobile although all have their abodes. Most of the spirits of the Luapula seem to be stationary, and do not enter men. This is another way of saying that Bwilile, Shila, and Lunda, the earliest inhabitants of the valley, do not know the custom of being possessed by spirits. On the other hand, men and women who become possessed by *ngulu* spirits are entered by spirits that habitually wander away from their natural abodes, and all these mobile spirits come from the plateau country in the east. A spirit comes to enter men and women who belong to the tribe in whose land its *ngulu* is situated. Some say that when a person who has been possessed by *ngulu* spirit dies then the possession would pass to a junior member of his family; generally I have noticed that the association is rather a tribal one.

The spirits can be categorized in another way. They are either 'chiefs of spirits' (*mfumu sha mipashi*) or 'prophets' (*bakasesema*). These differ in the manner in which they possess people. Those possessed as 'prophets' prophesy and find medicines only: those possessed as 'chiefs of spirits' dance in addition.

Spirit possession starts through illness, real or feigned. A sick person may be thought to have become spirit-possessed. If so, drums are beaten and the names of possible spirits are shouted out by someone who had previously been possessed, until the sick person starts dancing. This he does when the spirit within him recognizes its name being called. If he is found to be possessed, the oldest of the neighbouring spirit vehicles tells him the taboos, and teaches him various dances if the sick man is of the 'chiefs of spirits'. The possession lasts for a day or two then disappears. To be possessed is *kuwilwa*, literally 'to be fallen upon'. A person for the time being possessed is *cipawo* and the spirit when possessing a man refers to the man himself as its 'wife'. During my stay in the village of KASEBULA the spirit Musawo from Lungu country came to

enter a Lungu member of the village. Near the same village was the *ngulu* of a stationary spirit. The visiting spirit organized prayer for rain in this village at the *ngulu* of the stationary spirit during the drought of 1949; and the ceremony had the wide approval of villagers of the neighbourhood which it was supposed to benefit.

The stationary spirits of the Luapula Valley are known to the Owners of the Land. They have always been there and have always been prayed to, but being stationary they did not and do not leave the natural objects they are associated with in order to possess men. Nowadays mobile spirits from elsewhere exhort Luapula residents to make offerings to the stationary spirits of the Luapula. Spirits appear to affect nature only over a fairly narrow stretch of country near the abodes:¹ and so if at any time there is no settlement near to a particular *ngulu* it is temporarily neglected. But when the land is resettled, a representative of the previous settlers is asked about the spirits of the region. (There is always somebody who knows: *ku cibolya takubulwa mukaya*—a deserted village is never without its native.) Latterly Kazembe has learned of most of the *ngulu* in his country, and if a man builds a village in the neighbourhood of an untended *ngulu* Kazembe mentions the fact that the spirit is there and makes the headman its priest (*shimapepo*). Thus headman KASEBULA was appointed priest to the spirit Mukupe when his village moved to its present site.

Ngulu spirits are concerned with the good of the country. All spirits, stationary or mobile, are in contact with each other and a spirit talks as if it is fulfilling a mission decided upon in conference with its fellows. Spirits are concerned particularly with their own land and the people on it; and although Musawo is a Lungu spirit it travels to the Luapula because there are Lungu people there. Spirits follow their countrymen around. All spirits require that prayer be made to them. The spirits whose abodes are in the Luapula Valley do not move about and I have not heard of people being possessed by them. Thus it is that foreign spirits possess Luapula people and ask them to pray to Luapula stationary spirits at their abodes. Spirits are disturbed because nowadays prayer to them seldom takes place. They are equally concerned at the neglect of other customs affecting the good of the country.

On one occasion when the spirit Musawo entered the Lungu

¹ Consonant with the localized incidence of most rain-storms.



(a) Through a Lungu medium (right) the spirit Musawo assists while the late headman Kasebula constructs a shrine beside the tree which is the abode of the spirit Mukupe.



(b) Carrying a lion skin to Kanyembo's capital for purification.

man in KASEBULA's village, it announced it had come to talk of the things of the land, and summoned the Lunda headman. The headman knelt and clapped to the spirit in its human vehicle as if it were a chief. In a long speech the spirit told the headman that the reason for the current drought was the neglect of old customs. The headman no longer prayed to Mukupe as he should do. The spirit said the fault really lay at the door of Kazembe who should order these matters in times of difficulty. The result was that the following day the headman built a spirit hut at the abode of Mukupe. This is a large tree beside the waterspring of the village: it is hollow, and each year in May two large snakes make their abode there. They are quite tame: they do not fear the women who draw water, and the women do not fear them, although usually snakes send people scampering. I saw these snakes in two different years. The headman tore up a white cloth and strung it from the roof of the spirit hut. He sprinkled the floor with cassava meal. He provided a white cock, which was cooked and shared between boys and girls of the three nearby villages, and he smeared the uprights of the hut with the cock's blood. He then prayed to Mukupe and to all the spirits of important men who had been associated with this part of the land, from Bwilile and Shila to more recent headmen. He mentioned also the spirits of the dead NKUBAS and the Kazembes. News of this prayer spread to the capital and Lunda praised the headman for helping forward the good of the country. A few weeks later the spirit Musawo entered the Lungu man once more and ordered that the village hearths should be swept out.

In this way the later immigrants partake in the ritual of the land. The way they do this is consonant with the fact that they least of all are associated with particular pieces of land or with the land as a whole. They live scattered about in various villages and the roles which they take are individual. While immigrants say that it is they whom the spirits come to help, other residents of the Luapula recognize that the ritual set in motion by these visits is beneficial to all.

Land Purification

The matter of land purification is the aspect of land ritual which is today regarded as the most important and which is the most rigorously practised. For every now and again animals are killed

which are believed to bring danger to the country if purification is neglected. Land purification is closely connected with chieftainship of various kinds.

Kazembe himself observed some taboos.¹ He never ate any of the larger animals, of which elephant, hippo and eland were the most important. Nor would he eat beef although formerly he alone had cattle. It is said he did not eat these animals 'because they are his fellow-chiefs': they were 'chiefs of the bush'. Lunda say this was out of respect. No other person failed to eat of these animals when the opportunity arose, I believe that Kazembe XIV maintained the taboo on eating beef and elephant but dropped the others. These taboos were personal, and their breach caused no widespread harm.

The animals which are held to cause danger to the land if they are not purified on death are lion, leopard and striped weasel,² and Kazembe shares the taboos of his people against eating them. These animals are always purified today. What causes confusion is the fact that elephant, hippo and eland are said in the past to have been purified by the same process. This now does not occur, although the hunter who kills them may purify himself.

Formerly, enemies' heads had to be purified. A man who had killed in warfare was given the same name—*mumbanshi*—as a man who had killed a lion, and for ritual purposes was treated in a similar manner. Kazembe gave some aristocrats the right of purifying enemies' heads, but it was always he himself who was the proper person to do so.³ If the heads were not purified properly danger would ensue both to the country, which would be infested with enemies, and to the king himself. Kazembe I is said

¹ Most of Kazembe's taboos used to be 'kept' for him by palace servants whom he designated: e.g. one palace servant would keep his taboo against eating scaleless fish; but the taboos mentioned here were kept by the king himself. Kazembe would also keep taboos which magicians imposed upon him for the sake of successful warfare.

² African striped weasel (*Poecilogale albinucha*), a small ferocious animal which lives largely on guinea-fowl. Its skin is used as a ceremonial headdress by MWINEMPANDA, and also the *Mwadi* may wear it: the latter herself is concerned in land ritual, while MWINEMPANDA was granted the right to purify enemies' heads. The local name is *kasama*.

³ There is an excellent description of purifying heads and receiving a *mumbanshi* back from war at Kazembe's court in Gamitto, O Muata Cazembe, pp. 296 f. I shall deal with this and other rituals in my volume on the kingship.

to have died through purifying the head of chief Mufunga in the wrong manner.

The whole country is organized for the purification necessary on the death of a lion. For the 'lesser lions' (as leopards and striped weasels are called) the hunter must be purified and the animal's skin only if it is to be brought to a village. On the death of a lion the hunter neither speaks nor eats until he has informed the headman. He does this by approaching the village with his fists clenched on a level with his shoulders, indicating claws. He is purified by means of the village calabash; otherwise he would go mad. From this point, the affair is the concern of chiefs and Owners of the Land.

I think that even before Lunda times lions were purified by the Owners of the Land in which they were killed. They affected only the *katongo*. Each Owner had a slightly different method of purification. With the coming of the Lunda, lion-skins received a value they did not have before. They were the mats *par excellence* for the feet of the king. No other person could use a lion-skin for any purpose. Before the king could use one, it had to be purified again by a representative of the kingship 'in case the Owner of the Land had done it badly'. Thus nowadays lions are purified first by an Owner of the Land and then by a representative of the kingship. But if a lion dies in the vicinity of the capital the purification is done only by Kazembe or, recently, by his delegate. Moreover the lion now affects not only the *katongo* in which it died but also the *calo* of the chief and, if it is taken to Kazembe, it will affect the whole *calo*. Likewise it affects the sanity not only of the hunter and the Owner of the Land, but also of the chief in whose *calo* it died, and of the king if it is taken to him.

Kazembe recognizes who are the proper Owners of the Land to purify lions. This is the sign of rank best known to Owners of the Land, and the work is regarded as a real honour. It is a warranty of Ownership of long standing. KAPENA, the Owner of Luke Inlet in LUBUNDA's chiefdom, once told me that the only chiefly honour remaining to him now was 'the lion'. Those recognized by Kazembe in this way are MALEBE, LUBUNDA, KAPENA, KAPALA, LWAMFWE, SESA and MULUMBWA to the south of the capital. In Kanyembo's chiefdom there are no Owners resident, and the work has been given to the head gravekeeper MUKANSO; but Lunda recognize that this is not as it should be. In Kambwali's

chiefdom the work was first MUKANGE's and later MULWE's, but nowadays, after the skin has been medicated by the ritual controller of Kambwali's capital, it is done by chief Kambwali himself.

Lunda chiefs say they safeguard themselves first by having the skin purified by an Owner of the Land because the Owner is not really a chief. Until it has been purified it is 'raw' (*ubishi*) and in this state it is unsafe for a chief. Once it has been purified it is 'burnt' (*wapya*) and moderately safe.

To purify a lion is to 'step on it' (*kunyante nkalamo*) and this involves both the officiant and his wife. It also involves a pot which is, in some cases, the same as the village pot, but in other cases a special pot called *nongo ya nkalamo* (the pot of the lion). This depends on the magician who provides the medicines. In purification, the flesh and bones are burnt, while skin and sometimes teeth and eyes are kept. The skin is carried first to the Owner of the Land. He sleeps with his wife and in the morning they wash in their pot of the lion. The skin is placed hair down on the ground. The Owner stands with his feet on the head, his wife with her feet on the tail, and then they reverse their positions. The skin is then taken to the chief of the *calo*, who does the same with his chief wife and finally it goes to Kazembe, who does the same with his *Mwadi* (latterly Kazembe XIV delegated this work to the man who was an Owner of the Land near the capital, and is a member of his mother's clan). The whole matter is carried out with gravity; and when the skin is being carried it is accompanied by men with spears and other weapons who dance around it while it is resting on the ground.

The danger to the country of an unpurified lion is that lions will infest the country. Plagues of lions are vaguely referred to the influence of men. Lions were numerous around the southern end of Kanyembo's chiefdom in 1951, and chief Kanyembo related this to the presence of the Bemba in that district. Lions are sometimes regarded as familiars, but I have only once heard of action being taken against sorcerers held responsible, and this was an instance of rivalry for the kingship.

Lions are a menace on the Luapula and other measures are taken against them. If a lion is causing trouble a chief calls his people together with what weapons they can lay their hands on, and a lion drive follows. Two lions have been killed thus in recent years,

men and women surrounding the beasts in a noisy circle in the swamps. Likewise chiefs feel it their responsibility to take action against crocodiles. These do not have the mystical attributes of lions and are regarded as a nuisance, while lions are regarded with some awe. Action takes the form of a private deal between the chief of the land concerned and a magician. Chief Kanyembo bought the services of a magician from the Congo to rid Mofwe Lagoon of crocodiles. Thus, although chiefs take the same practical steps to rid the country of crocodiles and lions, in the case of lions other activities are set in motion by their death in which traditional ritual and rank play their part.

The various forms of ritual responsibility, particularly the ritual of fish fertility and of purification, are regarded still as being of great importance and as being real signs of status. But whereas people change their villages on account of the operation of the headman's medicine, I do not think that the success or lack of success of fertility and purification rituals have similar effects on population movements between one *katongo* or *calo* and another. But the important positions in these rituals are linked with land ownership on the one hand and political rank on the other, and purification of a lion by the wrong man can involve him in a case before Kazembe. Seen against the whole social background they further emphasise the high degree to which the various elements of the society cling to their autonomy and identity within the spheres that are permitted to them.

CHAPTER IX

HISTORY IN A COMPLEX SOCIETY

The Role of History

I HAVE suggested already with respect to the Lunda history that a part of its significance lies in the relationships which it helps to perpetuate with inherited names and the groups around them. At the same time it was pointed out that this perpetuation involved maintaining the original status of the name and the group *vis-à-vis* the kingship; that is to say, not only does a title-holder continue, for instance, to carry out ritual on a particular piece of land for the king; but additionally, by the very fact that he does so, he is therefore Bwilile, and is of a particular clan, and is associated in land ownership with a particular place, and is of old standing in the valley; and therefore is respected by the Lunda for any or all of these reasons.

But Lunda history is only one of a number of different kinds of history which is narrated on the Luapula, and these kinds of history form the subject of this concluding chapter. It is unnecessary to furnish an excuse for drawing together this study of present-day Luapula society by some account of its past. The past is very much alive, and lives, especially with the 'intermediate' groups, justifying their relations both among themselves and with the kingship. The component groups are of diverse ancestry and continue to act as if they were. They retain their own tribal designations and customs; but what explicates their individuality is what they say of their past.

The energetic economic life is perhaps a strange setting for the continued interest in past affairs—affairs of a period when land ownership and ritual were held to be of paramount importance for survival. But, as we have seen, even those who use the Copperbelt as a base for their activities continue to maintain their interest in all those features we have discussed. The narration of history is perhaps the commonest pastime of Luapula peoples. This is difficult to measure; I can only record my impression that in the king's court, in chiefdoms and in villages history was discussed more than any other subject, in forms ranging from the formality of

that of an Owner of the Land, to the drunken boasting of ancestry of commoners over beer. Not only did people boast, but others took an interest in what they said. The people are of a widely differing ancestry, and through their mentioning of ancestors or of historical events connected with them they make an immediate appeal to their own individuality. I found this was regarded as a pursuit which gave utmost satisfaction.

But they might boast of place or prowess instead. They choose history, so we look to the form of the society to discover why this should be so. Halbwachs has discussed history as an excellent example of a 'social fact', and has argued that without a continuing group there is no history.¹ Fortes inverts Malinowski's view of the myth as a pragmatic charter to claim that 'the political and social structure, including the principal political values of a people, directly shapes the notions of time and of history that prevail among them'.² It might thus be expected that differently structured groups will have different kinds of history, including different implicit attitudes to the passage of time.

While the Luapula peoples in some respects form a community under Kazembe, they are, as we have seen, organized also into many kinds of groups of varying structures. We thus expect different kinds of history according to the variations in the dominant values of the component groups, in addition to a history shared by all. These histories are to be found. They exist not remote from reality; but their constant repetition evokes repeatedly the values implicit in them. And since the groups concerned are mostly kin groups, histories also refer to the ancestry of individuals, and the remembered genealogies vary concomitantly with the kinds of history. Their content can be seen to vary with the political relations in which the groups are involved, from the brief, sharp episodes crystallizing the settlement of ritual land relationships, to the long-drawn-out continuum of the history of the kingship.

Taken together, the histories provide a rationale for the fact

¹ Halbwachs, 'Mémoire et Société', p. 78, describes 'la mémoire collective' as 'un courant de pensée continue qui n'a rien de l'artificiel, puisqu'elle ne retient du passé que ce qui en est encore vivant ou capable de vivre dans la conscience du groupe qui l'entretient. Par définition elle ne dépasse pas les limites de ce groupe. Lorsqu'une période cesse d'intéresser la période qui suit, ce n'est pas un même groupe. . . . Il y a en réalité deux groupes qui se succèdent.'

² Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, p. xi.

that many diverse groups live together in one valley and one kingdom. The histories are imbued with perpetual kinship and in this way the important relationships of the past retain their form and significance today. The histories perpetuate not only these kinship relationships but also the crucial episodes which gave rise to them. The past lives in the present and people see the past and justify the present situation by it; for they see about them today personalities and situations of the past.

The political aspect of perpetual kinship was briefly mentioned earlier. This form of kinship was described only as it works within the clan. In the histories, certain marriages are given which through time have come to have a political significance: these have taken place both among the earlier groups and between them and the Lunda. They have also taken place later between immigrant groups and Lunda, but since these groups are not associated with land they lack the significance which earlier marriages have. We learn that NKUBA married sisters of the Bwilile TWITE and of the Bwilile KALAPWE. These marriage relationships are perpetuated and widened. Because of the marriages, Bwilile can say they are the 'sons' of the Shila. Again, about a hundred years ago KALANDALA, the Lunda aristocrat, married a sister of NKUBA, in whose land he was governor. Their child (sister's son to NKUBA) had a Lunda name, Lukwesa, and he later took the place of NKUBA. Thus NKUBA remains the 'son' of KALANDALA, and through this important marriage, as well as other similar marriages, the Shila are the 'sons' of the Lunda. Shila explain it is above all because of this marriage that they sometimes call themselves Shila-Lunda. In similar fashion the aristocrat KALILO through marriage with the family of the Bwilile TWITE had a son, who himself became TWITE and later became KALILO. Many political links have been made between Kazembe and other groups by the *ntombo* system, whereby women were given to Kazembe as wives. In the opposite direction Kazembe would reward Owners of the Land with women if they were generous with their tribute. Among themselves, Owners of the Land are linked in this way. MALEBE and his people are the 'sons' of CHISAMAMBA and his people because a remote MALEBE was in fact the son of a CHISAMAMBA.

The term for history is *ilyashi*, a word which in some contexts means much the same as *mulandu*, a lawsuit, or more generally a subject of discussion. *Ilyashi* on the Luapula does not have the

meaning of 'gossip', or 'mere talk', which it has among the Bemba.¹ On the Luapula it is always referred to a group. There is no such thing as 'history'; but there is the 'history of tribe or lineage such-and-such'. The history which a particular person relates depends upon his place in the social structure. Ordinary people relate only the events which they have learnt for themselves by observation or from the memory of their parents. Those who are *bacikolwe* of lineages relate lineage history; the head of a sub-clan relates sub-clan history. Although other members of the various sections know these histories (and indeed it is the elders of the section which teach the new *cikolwe* the history of the group), yet the *cikolwe* himself is the proper person to relate his group's history, and in this context he is known as *mwine we lyashi*—the owner of the history. I experienced difficulty in obtaining histories in the absence of the proper person to relate them.

The 'owner' of the history is, in a way, its hero. Such ownership is much more strongly emphasized with Owners of the Land than with others. What he relates is the history of the group which is named after him. He relates events only of the period during which the group has been in existence. If he is *cikolwe* of a lineage, he may mention the home (*ntulo*) of the clan and the name of the clan *cikolwe*, but that is all. Otherwise history for him starts at the time when his own lineage broke off from the rest of his clan. In other words history starts for him at the time of the emergence of his own name. In the Leopard Clan, MAKUNGU, the senior *cikolwe* present, alone mentions the clan home in the west, Ng'embwakundwa. NKAMBO, whose lineage broke off from MAKUNGU, mentions only the reason for the break-off on the journey east, and the place where it occurred; while KASEBULA's history is unformulated, but again mention is made of MAKUNGU, from whom he came. (The document quoted in chapter III was a compilation made by a clerk in Kasenga: it is not history as typically related.)

On the Luapula the lineage is the largest effective kinship unit. Lunda history apart, lineage histories are the only ones which have become set and rigid and formalized. Every lineage has its history. For the older groups these histories have much in common. They

¹ White Fathers, *Bemba-English Dictionary*, p. 702, under *lyashi*. I am greatly indebted to this excellent work.

also share the characteristic that the events recounted in them form a necessary whole in themselves. They are strings of events, and each event must be recounted in its proper place every time the history is related. The older histories are similar to one another in that they stop when a certain point has been reached. This point is the final settlement of the land situation in terms of ritual Ownership of the Land. Although the political situation may have changed since then, for instance by the coming of Kazembe or of the Europeans, this is not related in the histories. An older history is thus a string of events leading up to the story—usually a remarkable and sometimes clearly mythical one—of how the ritual Ownership of a particular piece of land came to be as it is. The justification of the status quo is always in terms of these histories.

I give now the history as related to me by KAPENA, the Owner since Bwile times of Luke Inlet. He is of the Honeyguide Clan, and the *cikolve* of his clan is Lukoshi. KAPENA's district lies immediately to the south of the southern boundary of NKUBA's old domains of Shila times. KAPENA related his history as follows:

'We came from the Lualaba, with Lukoshi. We came to the country of Mwanshya, but only rested there. I killed a puku [antelope]. Now there was no salt in Mwanshya country, and salt started to gather round the place where I killed the animal. We gave some of the meat to Mwanshya. He asked where the salt had come from and he was told. So he sent people who killed me. My mother was angry and went to fetch medicine to send thunderbolts. She destroyed Mwanshya's village with them. Lukoshi then told me¹ to go forward and that he would stay and rule Mwanshya's country. So we came away. We met MAKUNGU and came with him to the Luapula. LUBUNDA who was across the river [i.e. on the east bank] heard about my strength. He came to see us and he married my mother. They went away and I remained. LUBUNDA then told my mother that he hoped I should not come and try to conquer him. My mother came to us and told us that LUBUNDA wanted to fight. I went to LUBUNDA

¹ KAPENA used the first person singular to describe each successive holder of the name. A remarkably similar salt story was collected by Grévisse at Mwanshya; cf. 'Salines et Saliniers du Haut-Katanga'. Later the salt district was returned to chief Mwanshya. Mwanshya lies to the east of the salt district of the Lualaba mentioned in the chapter on Lunda history. KAPENA figures in plate XII(b), nearest the camera.

and he said he was not angry, he just wanted us to fight for him. I asked LUBUNDA where I should fight, and he replied: "Along by the hills here" [indicating the escarpment towards Lake Mweru]. I fought some people to the east and took the heads to LUBUNDA. LUBUNDA then told me to follow down the Luapula.

I came down to this part [Luke] and found two Bwilile. I killed them and took the heads to LUBUNDA.¹ Then he said "Go to Mweru". At Mwala wa Mukenge [a stony tract which marked NKUBA's southern boundary] we met KAPALA, the Shila of NKUBA. We fought for six days and then KAPALA fled. When he found it was not LUBUNDA but KAPENA whom he was fighting, he brought a he-goat. I held the head and KAPALA held the tail, and I cut off the head. KAPALA thus surrendered.

"Then one of my men took a report to LUBUNDA that I had been purifying the heads of slain enemies. This angered LUBUNDA because he was the Owner of the Land, so he killed my mother and skinned her. On our way back to LUBUNDA we met a man who told us that my mother was dead. I asked whether she had died of a lion or of lightning² and he replied that LUBUNDA had killed her. I arrived and told LUBUNDA that I had suffered much in fighting on his behalf and now he was my enemy like NKUBA. I troubled LUBUNDA much and demanded his mother. LUBUNDA ran off, but he conferred with his elders and they decided to offer me some ivory. I refused, and said I only wanted to kill LUBUNDA's mother. The elders conferred again and said that LUBUNDA should offer me some country. So I agreed to share the country and to forget about LUBUNDA's mother. So he gave me the country where I am today. I made a boundary with NKUBA to the north. He threw a spear into one side of a tree and I threw a spear into the other. Then I heard drums across the river. I asked who was there and was told it was KABING'ANDU. I went across. There were people waiting, and I asked them if they had come to fight. They replied that they had come to welcome me and show me the way through the sudd. I married a sister of KABING'ANDU. Since then, nothing has happened'.³

¹ The Bwilile names mentioned no longer exist: Chilyobwe and Musumbye.

² As a result of sorcery directed against her.

³ The last phrase is *na nomba tulekalafye*, and now we are just sitting, doing nothing.

This history is typical of the Bwilile and Shila. It gives the reason for leaving the larger group, of Lukoshi in this case. It gives relationships with the people bordering the present area. And it gives the story justifying the *cikolwe's* position as Owner of the Land. And the history ends at this point. There is often an improbable or even mythical twist to this final most important story. The story of the skinning of KAPENA's mother appears to be improbable when it is taken into account that there are three other histories with a similar skinning episode leading to the final settlement of the land issue. One instance was given already in the story of NKUBA (above, p. 40). But the subsequent political changes, following on the conquest of the valley by the Lunda, go unrecorded in this particular history.

To the south of LUBUNDA lies the *katongo* of MALEBE. The land situation between MALEBE and LUBUNDA is justified by a mythical story. To decide who was the Owner of the Land a magician told these two each to dig a pit. They did so; and the following morning there was nothing in LUBUNDA's pit: but in MALEBE's was one each of every animal in the world, surmounted by a bull elephant. This is why MALEBE is Owner of the Land he is on today.¹

Today every *katongo* has an Owner of this kind, and the Ownership is justified by a similar history. The justification is made not only with reference to others who might have claims to being Owners of the Land but, more important, it is made towards Kazembe. For nowadays it is Kazembe who must approve the situation of ritual Ownership. It was to his benefit to know who the proper person was to unlock the fish and care for the fertility of the *tutongo* in his *calo*. Moreover he has to know the proper persons to recognize by sending Lunda to govern them, by conferring Lunda-hood on them and to 'mention' as Owners in the day-to-day talk of the aristocrats.

The histories of those who came after the arrival of the Lunda are of a different kind. There are those who came individually and still talk of their own people in the tribal areas outside the Luapula. But where it is a matter of groups coming to the Luapula in Lunda times, the contents of their histories are different because their leaders did not become Owners of the Land. In place of the

¹ History on the Luapula, pp. 19-20; and for other examples of histories of Owners of the Land, pp. 11, 12, 20.

story leading up to the settlement of the land situation, there is an elaboration of the reason for coming to the Luapula at all, and of the relationships which the group has had with the Lunda or the kingship. Failing ritual connections with the land, the only thing which can give special status is connection of some sort with the kingship. Thus the Lungu headman Mfwayenda, who came some fifty years ago, lays emphasis on the fact that he (his predecessor) married Kazembe XI's daughter: thus he is *lumbwe*—king's daughter's consort. KAPESA, the Chishinga sub-chief of about fifty years' standing in the Mununshi Valley, stresses the fact that he (his predecessor) was a great warrior and fought successfully for Kazembe. The leader of the Rain Clan group which became the *bacanuma* of Kazembe XI emphasises this fact and also that Kazembe told them to build on the site of the capital of Kazembe IV. Others simply go out of their way to mention their subjecthood under the Lunda. One headman started his story thus: 'In the war of Kafwimbi [war against the Arabs] many of us fled to Chishinga country. I was born there at Mushyota's. Many of my family died in the war. We came from Lubemba with Kazembe Kanyembo [Kazembe X] because the country here was good. You see, there are few real Lunda here: people just follow along in great numbers because of the respect they get from Kazembe. We came first to the deserted village at Mbereshi . . . ' and he continued to list the village sites he had had.

The formal lineage histories of the older groups and the more discursive, unformalized histories of the newer, have this in common, that it is by speeches such as these that the leaders characterize their groups to outsiders. The question 'who are you?' is answered, not in terms of present activities, dispositions and relationships, but with reference to origins and past history. This is what is relevant. Thus, while these later immigrants stress their connections with the Lunda, they are still equally interested in retaining their identity and individuality. They do not become assimilated with the Lunda. The clan groups retain the tribal custom of the area they came from, and still call themselves by their old tribal names. And although they might be given cloth they could not gain entry into Lunda ranks because they are not old as the Lunda must be. Continually they imply their inferiority to the Lunda politically and state they came to seek good rule. Likewise they stress that they are strangers, *beni*, as against

the Shila and Lunda whom they (wrongly) regard as natives, *bakaya*.

The histories, particularly those involving land issues, are brought alive by many devices. The main operating factor here is perpetual kinship. Perpetual kinship perpetuates also the situations which set the kinship into being. Historical time as well as genealogical time is telescoped. This is allied to a remarkable sense of place in history. These facts help make the people see history around them.

When KAPENA was telling his history he did so in the first person. This is almost the invariable practice in histories of this kind. Listeners hear them as if the speaker himself had done everything which he relates in the common name held by himself and his ancestors. The second KAPENA mentioned became step-son to LUBUNDA. This means that every succeeding KAPENA has been known as LUBUNDA's 'son'. KAPENA refers to the present LUBUNDA as his 'father', a relationship of which all his people are aware. The story of the transfer of land from LUBUNDA to KAPENA hinges on the fact that LUBUNDA had married KAPENA's mother. The land of which he is now Owner was a payment for the fact that LUBUNDA killed KAPENA's mother. When the story is related it is as if the present LUBUNDA had married KAPENA's mother and the events had occurred to the living incumbents of the names. The history is vividly set before listeners. I recall hearing the history of a Shila of Nkondo Lagoon on the Congo bank. This is the only place where the ritual Ownership is in active dispute. A Bwilile lives there also, and their stories conflict. The conflict is resolved in practice, for both of them unlock the fish in the same piece of water on the same day. The Shila was relating his history and the Bwilile was also present. When the name of the old Bwilile figured in the history, he simply pointed to the present incumbent of the name. The point came where the stories diverged. They started to shout at one another, each speaking in the first person, and to listeners it was as if the events had occurred only yesterday.

In these histories no idea is given of the period to which an event refers. Each history has its own time milieu, which is not set in relation to the time milieu of any wider history. A history is a string of events and there is no indication what length of time elapsed between any two events. An investigator can estimate the period often enough by comparison with other events which may

occur in the history or in other histories: for instance in KAPENA's history above, one infers that KAPENA came contemporaneously with MAKUNGU but that LUBUNDA was in the valley before him, and that this was all before Lunda times. But equally there may be no clue of this kind. On the other hand emphasis is laid upon the place where events happened. The history of the conquest of the Shila as given by NKUBA illustrates this well. In it is mentioned the place where every significant event occurred. The Shila lived at Chisenga; Nachituti crossed to Shabo and found the Lunda at Chilange; they killed NKUBA at Chalalankuba, and so on. Also, places are named after historical events. Chalalankuba, meaning the place where NKUBA lay and hid, is one. Chipitabaluba Channel is the way by which 'the Luba passed' on their way to attack the capital. Apart from places which are actually named after events, there is ready association of place with events, and a favourite topic of travellers is to recall historical events which took place at the landmarks they pass. An anthill in the bush is remembered as the place from which the Shila KATELE looked out for the approach of the Lunda. A place on the Luapula is recalled as the spot where TWITE crossed the river to reach his land. The seven hills of Kilwa Island are named after the pygmy elders whom KAPONTO burned. At MALEBE, a tree-stump remains to remind people that, after digging the pits, he and LUBUNDA each planted trees. LUBUNDA's did not grow, but the stump is that of MALEBE's, which he planted upside-down and which flourished: and so on. Often when relating histories the narrator points in the direction in which events took place.

The type of time structure in the various histories is implicit in the genealogies which correspond to them. I have shown this in a previous publication.¹ The telescoped genealogies of the older lineages still include points of reference to the period of lineage fission and settlement on the Luapula, but the people alive today appear from the genealogies to be their immediate descendants. This is made possible by the set of institutions discussed in chapter IV. But the genealogies of the newer lineages are not yet long enough for telescoping to be necessary, and the only period of importance is the time when they split off from their homes in other tribal areas, and this point is represented as the point

¹ 'History and Genealogies in a Conquest State.'

at which the genealogy starts. It is interesting to contrast the genealogy of the kingship with those of the older lineages especially, for in the former we have a group perhaps comparable in age with some of the lineages of Owners of the Land. With nine generations the genealogy of the kingship is the longest from the Luapula.¹ Here again the relationship with political structure is clear: the Lunda history is a continuum of ever-growing, purely political relationships which must be recorded for the kingship to know how it stands, not with one or two other groups, as in the case of the Owners, but with all the groups with which it comes into political contact. Also, as I pointed out, it is a unique institution which cannot see what current practice is by looking about it: this can only be found by looking into its own past. But in spite of its scope the Lunda history does not represent a history of the peopling of the valley; it retains only those events which are of most direct relevance to the kingship itself.

But such a history does exist. From the welter of lineage histories certain facts and episodes have gained wide circulation, and in this way there has arisen a vague general knowledge of the past of the Luapula Valley as such. But there is nothing fixed about the way in which such a history is related. Different sets of facts, some overlapping and others not, are known to different people, but certain episodes are generally known. Everyone for instance knows the story of the coming of NKUBA from Bemba country, and likewise everyone knows how the land was transferred from the Shila to the Lunda. This is a part of every child's education. It is in terms of these historical facts of wide distribution that the larger groups with which the people identify themselves, as well as the narrower lineages, are defined as to character, and that relationships between them are recognized. In the case of the Bwilile, they have no special allegiance to any entity known as Bwilile, and they say normally they belong to such and such a lineage. But they recognize that they have something in common which marks them off from later immigrants. They say: 'We do not know chiefs' (although in actual fact they 'know' chiefs). Everyone knows that the Bwilile in this sense 'know no chiefs'. They know this is their

¹ Diagram VI (p. 162) is given only to show the relationships of the kings, earlier and later generations being omitted.

attribute because it is constantly being stressed in the stories about ivory, as indeed in the name Bwilile itself, which implies that they ate everything by themselves without giving away tribute. It is a standing joke how, when the Shila offered to give Bwilile tribute of ivory, they replied: 'If you give us elephant, why then give us the meat: we do not eat ivory.' This stresses not only that the Bwilile were chiefless groups, but it also states the relationship between Shila and Bwilile.

Likewise the Shila-Lunda relationship is summed up in the story of the killing of NKUBA. If one asks who the Shila are and who the Lunda are, or how Shila and Lunda live together, the answer is in terms of this history. It stresses the Shila connection with the swamp, the land and the water. It explains that the Shila were there before the Lunda, and tells how NKUBA came to be 'wife' to Kazembe and how he was put on Chisenga Island to look after the 'Kazembe's Storehouse'. The story also shows the political nature of Lunda activities.

Thus, although European ideas of time are absent from the histories, it seems that the inter-groups relationships, expressed as they always are in historical terms, have a temporal character. It is precisely the inter-group relationships, with particular reference to land ownership, which seem the most important facts in the histories. The Shila have the land and its ritual and so they were first there. Lunda political supremacy is stated in the story of the killing of NKUBA with its symbolic emphasis on the previous ownership of the land. The sufferance on which later immigrants came is expressed in their reasons for settling on the Luapula, whether they were invited by Kazembe or sought the sanctuary of his kingship.

Concluding Remarks

This account of Luapula society has been limited to the analysis of institutions which promote or maintain various kinds of enduring groups within it. In view of the clear distinctions which the people themselves made between the ethnic components of the population, the question arose why these distinctions were drawn with such emphasis.

But examination showed that it was not only tribal designation which served as distinguishing marks between groups. The complex structure of the society was evident, and this complexity was

traced through various groups based on descent, locality and other criteria. These groups are arranged in such a way that loyalties and allegiances cut across one another. Amongst these groups, tribes remain distinct and retain external loyalties, but some, of comparable antiquity in the valley, are drawn together by common interests. Matrilineal descent distinguishes one clan from another, but each is partnered by others in joking relationships. Lineages are the focal point of individual interest as regards such valued institutions as succession to office, inheritance and exogamy, but kinship extends outward from them to clans and to other lineages through links of perpetual kinship. Villages are tied to lineages, but consist of members of many tribes and clans who have thus numerous external interests; villages are also held to be related through the various relationships of headmen among themselves.

These groups are political in so far as they contribute to the regulation of the behaviour of members of one group to members of another. The relations existing between them complement the body of political relations established and maintained through the political action of the kingship and Senior Native Authority.

The role of 'cross-cutting ties' has been well demonstrated in accounts of stateless societies,¹ where the overlapping of allegiances plays what is probably the major part in the maintenance of social control. But here social control is the explicit task of one of the component groups, the Lunda, with whom now the Senior Native Authority is identified. The overlapping of loyalties is perhaps a necessary adjunct to the more formal political relations established by the state in a country in which individual and group mobility has always been considerable. Individuals and groups frequently settle and dwell among strangers, but the degree of strangeness lessens when members of different clans, and of different lineages even, find a common tribal origin, or when villages newly established as neighbours discover bonds of perpetual or village kinship, however remote. Similarly the maintenance of relations between lineages of one clan through joking partnerships, and of different clans through the perpetual kinship of their leaders, all widen the range of familiar contact.

But this begs the question of the distinctiveness of Luapula

¹ Colson, 'Social Control and Vengeance among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia', and Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa*, chapter I.

groups. Effective cross-cutting of ties and effective alliances demand in the first place effective allegiance to groups of different kinds. The greater part of this book has been devoted to describing the groups, their functions, and the loyalties they activate. It is clear that for many of these groups the people claim a greater degree of distinctiveness than the social reality would warrant. This may be expressed in a slightly different way: these groups exist and are describable: as regards tribal distinctiveness especially the boundaries are not so clear as they once were; but histories and the myth which links custom and tribe exaggerate them.

I have brought out the notions of custom and history because in them the distinctiveness of parts of the society is most clearly maintained. Through the narration of history and in the assertion that tribe and custom are indivisible, the value is being continually stated that Luapula society is composed of groups each with its own distinctive character; that each has its special part to play in the ritual, political or economic organization of the society; that each is related in its own idiosyncratic way to the kingship. Groups came from all directions at many periods to form the present Luapula society. On arrival they were set in relation to the kingship, and got therefrom their social positions in the country. The perpetuation of these social positions through histories gives each individual the opportunity to claim his niche in the society; and the kingship encourages the continued belief in these strict divisions for its own advantage. For as long as status is gained through recognition by the kingship—as long as a man is somebody by virtue of his known relationship to the king—so long will the kingship retain an interest in the histories, the roles and the customs which differentiate one group from another.

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